

## The Tripartite Narrative Structure of John's Gospel

Analysis of the literary structure of a given work should avoid the assumption that only a single structure would prove to be possible. At times, at least two major patterns, like complementary wave-patterns on the sea, driven by currents and winds, may call for balanced attention<sup>(1)</sup>. At the outset of this inquiry, then, I admit the plausibility of a currently-accepted, bipartite division of John's Gospel, placed at the beginning of John 13 within the compass of the body (John 1,19-20,29[31]) of his work.

The rationales of admittedly complementary structures must, of course, differ. To study John's Gospel as *narrative*, as this particular inquiry sets out to do, demands that one attend to the structure of John's Gospel in order to articulate its plot-line. In offering a new view concerning the *tripartite* narrative structure of the body of John's Gospel, one must therefore challenge the current practice of placing a kind of absolute division of the narrative between John 12 and John 13. It should not be necessary to erase *any* division at this point, or especially a division considered to be important on definable grounds other than the basic movement of the narrative<sup>(2)</sup>. Thus, given the importance of signs throughout John's narrative, the distinction and division of the course of Jesus' revelation through signs calls for special consideration at the close of John 12: the point at which the story moves from the signs which Jesus worked publicly to the sign which he himself became (and "did") by rising from the dead.

(1) Complementary structures occur in at least two texts in John's Gospel; cf. C. H. GIBLIN, "Two Complementary Literary Structures in John 1:1-18", *JBL* 104 (1985) 87-93.

(2) Accordingly, the popular distinction between "the Book of Signs" and the "Book of Glory" should be rejected. For the very first, "inaugural" sign manifests Jesus' glory (2,11). At the very end of the Gospel, Jesus' resurrection-appearance to the disciples, especially when Thomas is present, must be considered to be, for John, a "sign" in some real sense. For his concluding statement of purpose (20,30-31) — hardly to be dismissed as a "colophon" — speaks of many "other" signs which Jesus worked in the presence of his disciples.

This proposal of a tripartite narrative structure will argue that the plot-line of John's story as a whole thereby becomes clearer and theologically more rewarding than it does according to the current, merely bipartite division. Again, however, the two structures are complementary, even though, from the more basic analysis of the Gospel as a *narrative*, the tripartite structure should be considered to be primary. The following major points will serve to direct this line of study:

- I. Robert A. Holst's views concerning the link provided by John 12,37-50 contest the current division and open up a new perspective<sup>(3)</sup>.
- II. That perspective widens with the geographical and temporal movement in John 1,19-20,29 and Jesus' relationships to his closest associates and to "the Jews".
- III. Development of R. Alan Culpepper's illuminating treatment of the plot of John's Gospel<sup>(4)</sup> will bring into clearer focus analysis of the narrative and its theological import.
- IV. Concluding observations will show how distinctively Johannine concerns figure in a pattern corresponding to the tripartite structure.

#### I. Relationships between John 12 and John 13

In his Princeton dissertation, finished in 1974, R.A. Holst examined the close connections between John 12 and John 13<sup>(5)</sup>. Among the links he noted are the chronology of the last Passover,

(3) R.A. HOLST, *The Relation of John, Chapter Twelve, to the So-called Johannine Book of Glory*, Princeton Theological Seminary, Ph.D., 1974 (University Microfilms International: Ann Arbor, MI). George MLAKUZHYYL's study, *The Christocentric Literary Structure of the Fourth Gospel* (AnBib 117; Rome 1987) 238-241, views John 11-12 as a "bridge-section" between two basic parts (2,1-12,50, "The Book of Jesus' Signs"; 11,1-20,29, "The Book of Jesus' Hour"). Mlakuzhyil, notwithstanding his extensive review of others' structural analyses (ibid., 17-86), does not mention Holst's earlier study.

(4) R.A. CULPEPPER, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel. A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia 1983) 77-98.

(5) HOLST, *Relation*, 65. MLAKUZHYYL, *Christocentric Literary Structure*, 181-183, independently confirms many of these links, while trying to justify his concept of a "bridge-section" overlapping two, major, distinct parts of

the location of events in Jerusalem and the presence in John 12 of episodes traditionally associated with the passion narrative (sc., an anointing in Bethany and the Messianic entry into Jerusalem, and a public anticipation of Jesus' prayer in the garden)<sup>(6)</sup>. In particular, Holst shows how 12,37-50 serves to link the two chapters rather than divide them. For the passage is not merely retrospective; rather, it creates a necessary pause in the action and maintains its Christological focus<sup>(7)</sup>.

Admittedly, John 12,37-50 marks the end of a particular emphasis, namely, stressing the great signs which Jesus has worked. It does not, however, mark the end of Jesus' signs. Its main purpose consists in presenting Jesus' own appeal for faith in himself in the context of scriptural fulfillment. The Christological drama is proceeding according to the divine plan<sup>(8)</sup>. The passage contains two interrelated portions, vv.37-43 and vv.44-50. In the first portion, the issue is not predestination or determinism. Rather, as Holst says, the rejection of Jesus becomes, paradoxically, a reason for believing and is similar to the theme of "glory in rejection", which lies behind the passion prediction of 12,23-33<sup>(9)</sup>. The two citations from Isaiah merit close attention.

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John's Gospel. Although Mlakuzhyil's analysis includes a number of excellent points, I fault it on several major counts:

1) It assumes a *single* overall literary structure (*see above*, n. 1).  
 2) The overall structure it assumes, in spite of Mlakuzhyil's appeal to literary criteria (*ibid.*, 87-136), neglects features essential to the analysis of a distinctive narrative. It tends to be statically conceptualistic. For him, analysis of narrative is reduced to noting "devices" or "techniques" (*ibid.*, 112-120). The dynamic "progressive revelation" which he claims to have clarified (350) does not convincingly appear from the literary structure which he provides. In particular, the love shown by Jesus himself (from 11,1 onwards), which can hardly be regarded as a minor Christological aspect of John's Gospel, is eclipsed by Mlakuzhyil's waffling between "two books" (11,1-12,50; pp. 28-39).

3) There is a need to distinguish and relate two major kinds of signs in John's Gospel, established by the *promised* sign (2,13-22) just after the sequence containing the *inaugural* sign (2,1-11).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*; these elements, treated at length throughout the dissertation, are conveniently summarized in Appendix III, pp. 266-268.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-229.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

The first citation, from Isa 53,1 (John 12,38), directs the reader's attention to the Suffering Servant and, accordingly, to the passion. The "fulfillment formula" (πληρωθῆ) introduces a pattern found only subsequently, in the passion narrative (13,18; 15,25; 17,12; 19,24.36). The Jews, representing the world at large<sup>(10)</sup>, have not perceived his glory in the signs which Jesus worked. For believers, and through them for the world (17,20-26), the ultimate sign of his glory will be that which he prophetically indicated, namely, his cross. *Perception* of this glory, however, as in the case of Isaiah, is a matter of *vision*, entailing faith and its articulation (cf. 12,41).

The second citation, from Isa 6,10 (John 12,40), explains the lack of faith. According to the Hebrew text, the prophet Isaiah himself was instructed to make the heart of the people fat and their ears heavy and their eyes shut. To state the point bluntly, the prophet was commissioned to confound his hearers, shocking them into an awareness that God's thinking is not theirs, though he remains true to his covenant in warning them. God speaks so that they do not understand, thereby jolting his people into perceiving that, in order to understand, they would have to convert, to turn from their ingrained mode of thinking<sup>(11)</sup>. The LXX modified this to indicate that Isaiah was to speak to a people already afflicted by this condition<sup>(12)</sup>. In his own turn, John altered the explanation, first, by applying it to signs, not parables, and second, by editing the LXX and constructing three parallel stichs.

John begins the quotation (v. 40ab, τετύφλωκεν... καρδίαν) by emphasizing blindness, not hardness of heart. He uses the verb "has blinded", recalling the sign of John 9 (and anticipating 12,45, which will be clarified in 14,9). The subject of the verb "has blinded" is more probably the devil, an interpretation shared by Cyril of Alexandria, Loisy and J. Blank<sup>(13)</sup>. In any event, the subject remains ambiguous, provocatively prompting the reader to discern the

<sup>(10)</sup> Repeatedly, John identifies Jesus' own non-receptive people in terms suggestive of the world at large (cf. 1,10-11; 2,23-25; 8,21-24; 15,18-25; 18,19-20).

<sup>(11)</sup> This is the line of thought pursued by Mark in his use of the quotation apropos of the parables of Jesus (Mark 4,11-12) and, with a significant deletion of the (immediate) prospect of non-repentance, by Luke (Luke 8,10).

<sup>(12)</sup> This line of thought is preferred by Matthew (Matt 13,10-15).

<sup>(13)</sup> HOLST, *Relation*, 204-209.



cause<sup>(14)</sup>. Furthermore, John omits Isaiah's saying concerning unreceptive ears because, for John, there is hope for one with blind eyes and an obtuse heart, but not for one with deaf ears<sup>(15)</sup>. John also employs ἐπώρωσεν instead of ἐπαχύνθη to translate *hašmēn*, suggesting obstinacy.

The second set of stichs (v.40cd), introduced by the purpose clause (ἵνα), looks not to the devil's action alone, but also to actions of human persons: so that they cannot see or understand<sup>(16)</sup>. The third stich (v.40e) looks to God's bringing about conversion and healing. Once more, John drops the Septuagint's reference to hearing. He also changes the aor. act. subj. of Isaiah (ἐπιστρέψωσιν) to the aor. pass. (στραφῶσιν), balancing it with "I will heal" (ἰάσομαι), thus bringing out God's action, not that of mere humans.

The signs worked by Jesus have not been completely ineffective. The main problem, as shown in the faith of many even of the Jewish leaders, has been the eclipsing of God's glory, manifested in Jesus according to the prophet's vision, by the self-centered concern for "glory" (manifested esteem) on the part of human beings. In this connection, the theme of the fear of excommunication (v.42b) links earlier portions of the Gospel (9,22) with the forthcoming discourses to the disciples (16,2).

In the second portion (vv.44-50) of the passage (12,37-50), John picks up the theme of dualism between light and darkness and the theme of God's saving will. He presents the relation of the disciples to the Father through Jesus not merely as a summary of ideas or themes from previous sections of the Gospel but also in a way that anticipates the discourses to come (cp. 14,9; 13,20).

Unfortunately, Holst did not expand his study to John 11. Doing so would have enabled him, among other things, to discern the progression in Jesus' personal relationships from John 11 to 20 *vis-à-vis* those in earlier portions of the Gospel. For instance, Jesus'

<sup>(14)</sup> John tests the reader's alertness to the proximately foregoing prediction of the decisive moment of Jesus' glorification of the Father and the termination of the power of the prince of this world (John 12,27-33).

<sup>(15)</sup> HOLST, *Relation*, 204, notes that τυφλοῦν reminds the reader of the discourse of John 9; that "discourse", or rather, that "dialogue-sign", is followed by a "discourse" proper, which stresses the need to hear. Thus, Jesus does not "give up" even on the audience he has castigated as sinfully blind (9,41), but goes on to teach in similitudes that elicit listening.

<sup>(16)</sup> Ibid., 212.

*love for his friends* appears for the first time at the outset of John 11 (vv. 3-5) and develops throughout the rest of the Gospel. In addition, the plot of the Sanhedrin forms as much a part of the traditional passion story as do the anointing at Bethany and the Messianic entry into Jerusalem, and that plot is bound tightly with the last public sign of Jesus' ministry among the people, namely, his raising of Lazarus.

What seems called for is a still wider perspective, one which considers the progress of the whole narrative from John 1,19 onwards and covers its thematic development as well. This perspective can be acquired by looking especially to points which are essential in the telling of any story, namely, time, place, progressive presentation of the chief character and of others in relation to him — particularly as all these prove to be peculiar to John's own telling the Gospel story. The schema provided below (see p.455) sketches the main lines of the tripartite, integrated "divisions" of the body of John's Gospel which I propose. Although a thorough defense of this extensive structure cannot be completed within the compass of an article, the observations offered here may nonetheless serve as a working hypothesis to stimulate further study. Considering the minimal space which even lengthy commentaries provide for an introductory discussion of the literary structure of John's narrative, this effort may prove useful. For it may dispel no little puzzlement arising from Jesus' apparent meanderings from place to place<sup>(17)</sup> and help address the issue of that unity, coherence and definable theological emphasis which distinguishes the Fourth Gospel from the others.

## II. Arguments for the Tripartite Structure

Essential elements in any narrative progression are posed by the questions: where? when? who — in relation to whom? what? how?

<sup>(17)</sup> Geographical changes of place figure prominently in M. RISSI, "Der Aufbau des Vierten Evangeliums", *NTS* 29 (1983) 48-54. The journeys, especially the second, which Rissi begins in Samaria (49) is actually a *return* to Galilee. His schema does not adequately address the *complexus* of patterns in a narrative. Rissi also maintains a bipartite division of John's Gospel, though his most significant contribution is to show how the climactic section begins not with John 13 but with the transition at John 10,40 (*ibid.*, 51-53).

## Sketch of the Narrative Structure of John's Gospel

## 1,1-18 Prologue

## 1,19-4,54 PART ONE

- § 1: 1,19-2,12 Bethany beyond Jordan to Galilee, Cana and Capernaum
- § 2: 2,13-3,36 Jerusalem and Judea (*Passion-Resurrection Prediction*)  
Passover near (*Passion Prediction 3,14-15*)
- § 3: 4,1-54 to Galilee through Samaria, Cana (but not down to Capernaum)

Thematic Motif of Part I: Jesus' contacts with all sorts of persons (no hostility)

## 5,1-10,42 PART TWO

- § 1: 5,1-47 Jerusalem; Sabbath cure of Paralytic
- § 2: 6,1-71 Galilee (6,1-15.16-21; 6,22-59.60-71) (Passover near)
- § 3: 7,1-10,42 (minus 7,53-8,11) Jerusalem
  - 7,1-13 Going up to Feast of Tabernacles
  - 7,14-36 Middle of Feast
  - 7,37-8,59 Last, great day of Feast  
(*Passion Prediction 8,28-29*)
  - 9,1-10,21 Sabbath cure of man born blind with discourse on Messianic Shepherd
  - 10,22-39 Feast of Dedication
  - 10,40-42 Jesus stays where John was baptizing at first  
(= Bethany beyond Jordan)

Thematic Motif of Part II: Controversies; opposition even from some disciples (marked hostility)

## 11,1-20,29 PART THREE

- § 1: 11,1-54 Bethany in Judea, near Jerusalem  
Raising of Lazarus and Plot of Sanhedrin  
11,54 Jesus stays with disciples at Ephraim
- § 2: 11,55-12,50 To Bethany and Jerusalem; Passover near
  - 11,55-57 Expectation in Jerusalem
  - 12,1-11 Dinner in Bethany (six days before Passover)
  - 12,12-36 Entry into Jerusalem the next day  
(*Passion Prediction 12,33-36*)
  - 12,37-43.44-50 Appeal for conversion (beyond those signs given thus far)
- § 3: 13,1-17,26 "Last discourses to disciples"
  - 13,1-14,31 Footwashing, discourse
  - 15,1-16,33 Allegory of vine, discourse
  - 17,1-26 Farewell Prayer
- § 4: 18,1-19,42 Passion Narrative
- § 5: 20,1-29 Resurrection Narrative

Thematic Motif of Part III: Jesus' love for his friends; opposition specifically from Jewish leaders

## 20,30-31 Conclusion

## 21 Supplement

why? Accordingly, this survey of the grounds for a tripartite structure will deal: 1) with geographical notices; 2) with a key feature of the temporal sequence; 3) with relationships between Jesus and his disciples on the one hand and, on the other, Jesus and his adversaries.

### 1. *Geographical Locale*

One may well begin with the apparent aimlessness of geographical locale, a distinctive feature of the Fourth Gospel, in which a sense of *direction*, however, proves to be anything but aimless. At the outset, John the Baptist testifies in Bethany beyond the Jordan. Jesus contacts his first disciples there, then moves to Galilee for his inaugural sign, and goes down to Capernaum with an entourage of family and disciples. Second, the reader is suddenly transported, with Jesus, to Jerusalem and its environs (John the Baptist being elsewhere — off center stage, as it were — when he gives his further testimony to Jesus). Third, returning to Galilee, Jesus passes through Samaria. The second sign he performs at Cana of Galilee is an “*encore*” sign<sup>(18)</sup>. This “*inclusion*” concerning Jesus’ self-manifestation in the context of Johannine testimony brings the first “*part*” or cycle of the Fourth Gospel to a conclusion and to a point of major transition.

In the next part or cycle, with John 5, the scene suddenly shifts to Jerusalem, then, with John 6, to Galilee, and, thirdly, back to Jerusalem. As in the first part, so in the second, the specific locale in Jerusalem which is highlighted is the temple, though perhaps simply to provide the most appropriate forum for Jesus’ public statements to the Jews. John 10 closes with the notation that Jesus returned to the place where John was baptizing at first, namely, Bethany beyond the Jordan. This last reference to the work of John the Baptist, stressing its ultimately productive effect, connects the first two parts or cycles. Thus far, the movement of the story has gravitated to Jerusalem and, to anticipate study of its temporal focus, to the season of Passover (the central episode in each cycle).

In the third and last part, Jesus returns to Judea, to another Bethany (that which is in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem). After

(18) Cf. C. H. GIBLIN, “Suggestion, Negative Response, and Positive Action in St. John’s Portrayal of Jesus (John 2. 1-11.; 4. 46-54.; 7. 2-14.; 11. 1-44.)”, *NTS* 26 (1979-80) 197-211, 198, n. 7.

this visit, Jesus sojourns in Ephraim (probably Eṭ-Ṭaybeh). He then returns to Bethany and thence, without further change of place, moves on to Jerusalem.

## 2. *The Temporal Sequence*

The temporal sequence is articulated mainly with reference to three Passovers, a "nearness" to each Passover in each of the three cycles which reaches its climax with Jesus' death on the eve of Passover. Other, secondary temporal sequences can be noted. Part One begins with a sequence of days, coming to a climax with a "third day" (reckoned from Jesus' own movement towards Galilee) in Cana of Galilee, where Jesus manifests his glory. A stay in Capernaum "for not many days", concludes the first section of Part One. The next, central section (2,13-3,36) focuses on Passover and its sequel. The third section (4,1-54) of this part highlights the trip back to Galilee through Samaria whence, "after the two days" (4,43) Jesus went to Galilee, specifically, to Cana (but not down to Capernaum, where the miracle by his word at Cana is worked "at that very hour"). The only Jewish feast mentioned in this cycle is Passover and, to anticipate subsequent observations, no acrimonious controversy occurs even on the occasion of this feast or of other events in Jerusalem.

In Part Two (John 5-10), and there alone, the theme of Jewish feasts becomes bonded with the narration of the signs which Jesus works. In sabbath contexts, signs done are expressly termed "works" (5,36; 7,3.21; 9,3-4; 10,25.32.37-38), to accentuate religious polemic. In the first section (ch. 5), a sabbath occurs in Jerusalem; in the second section (ch. 6), the second Passover takes place in Galilee; in the lengthy third section (chs. 7-10), the sequence of Tabernacles-Dedication is interrupted by a sign on an intervening sabbath. Again, to anticipate subsequent observations, this whole second part or cycle is permeated by acrimonious controversy or at least (in the central section, John 6) by strong antipathy towards Jesus, notably because of Jesus' words.

Part Three (John 11-20) mentions no Jewish feasts except Passover. The nearness of the latter, following the third similarly-phrased announcement of the feast, emerges as the dominant temporal motif. At the same time, its opening section, marked by a sequence of days culminating in the raising of Lazarus and the plot

of the Sanhedrin<sup>(19)</sup>, leads intrinsically to the Johannine ordering of events traditionally associated with the passion-resurrection sequence. The “divisions” of Jesus’ audiences, inaugurated sharply in Part Two, are decisively clarified in Part Three.

### 3. *Relationships of Jesus with Disciples and Adversaries*

Jesus’ relationships develop according to the suggested schema of three cycles. In Part One, Jesus recruits disciples, some of whom are from the Baptist’s circle. Remarkably, in view of the relative brevity of this part, Jesus contacts all sorts of persons: John’s disciples and other men; his own mother and his relatives; Jews throughout Palestine and one of their representative leaders; Samaritans; a political figure (the royal official). The Jews ask for a sign to justify his prophetic cleansing of the temple, but take no negative action in response to his reply. One of their leaders, Nicodemus, is clearly sympathetic, however bewildered he may be. In John 4,1-3, Jesus seems to avoid an investigation like that which the Pharisees had arranged regarding John (1,24). No antagonism, however, appears in 4,1-3 any more than it did in 1,19-28.

Part Two abruptly introduces the reader into a “life-or-death” confrontational situation<sup>(20)</sup>. Throughout John 5–10, the central issue becomes Jesus’ Messianic work in terms of his personal relationship to God, but with *insistence* on the alternative he offers: life or judgment (an alternative announced in the central section of Part One). Hostility is overt, but not cohesively implemented. “Divided responses” emerge prominently, even among Jesus’ own disciples. For them, the critical situation occurs in the central section of Part Two (John 6), in connection with the second, Galilean, Passover. For Jesus’ relatives (his mother excepted) and for “the Jews” (as further divided into factions), views at odds with those of Jesus emerge as

(<sup>19</sup>) The meeting of the Sanhedrin arises directly from the raising of Lazarus (11,45-47).

(<sup>20</sup>) There is no need to change the order of John 5 and John 6. The MS tradition provides no basis for transposition. Moreover, the current order serves to clarify from the outset of this part the salient motif of hostility to Jesus and geographically counterbalances (Jerusalem / Galilee / Jerusalem / beyond the Jordan to where John was baptizing at first) the intrinsic order of the previous part (Bethany beyond the Jordan / Galilee / Jerusalem/ back to Galilee [*via* Samaria]).

salient features of the last section (John 7-10) of Part Two. This part concludes with John the Baptist's disciples' acceptance of the Baptist's testimony as Jesus remained where John first baptized.

Part Three brings the course of events to a decisive point. For the first time, Jesus' love for his friends and disciples is adverted to and developed. Indeed, this occurs at the outset of Part Three, as mortal hostility appeared almost precipitately at the beginning of Part Two. For the first time, an especially perceptive disciple, quite probably the unnamed one in John 1,35-40, is called the "beloved" disciple. Ultimately, Jesus' "brothers", associated with his entourage in Part One (2,12) and then shown in Part Two to be alien to his way of thinking (7,2-10), are redefined in Part Three as his disciples (20,17b). Jesus' adversaries in Part Two, "the Jews", repeatedly disagreed with one another. In Part Three, especially once Caiaphas takes command (11,47-53), they become quite sharply split. The people at large seem to be thoroughly sympathetic to him; the villains among the Jews seem to consist almost exclusively of the high priests and their servants<sup>(21)</sup>. The frustrated plots of the leaders as described in Part Two now become ruthlessly efficient.

### III. Tripartite Development of the Plot: Major Features

The foregoing observations concerning the progressions in John's story require that one face the issue central to a unified and coherent narrative, one with a beginning, a middle and an end. That issue is the plot of the narrative. Alan Culpepper has provided a solid, concise analysis of the plot of the Fourth Gospel<sup>(22)</sup>. I intend not to contest it, but to supplement it with a further analysis of the structural articulation of the plot. "Plot" in a narrative or dramatic

<sup>(21)</sup> "Some" of the Jews who saw the miracle reported the event to the Pharisees (11,46). After the plot, a majority of the people seem to be favorable, even enthusiastic (12,19). When puzzled, they are not hostile (12,29.34), even though they may not be believers (12,37.42-43). It is noteworthy that John's crucifixion scene contains no mockeries, and that the Jews in other scenes of the passion seem to be either the high priests or their servants (e.g., 18,3.12.22; 19,6).

<sup>(22)</sup> CULPEPPER, *Anatomy*, 77-98. As Culpepper notes: "The plot of the Gospel is propelled by conflict between belief and unbelief as responses to Jesus" (197).

work is the very structure of its actions as these are ordered to achieve particular intellectually and emotionally perceived effects<sup>(23)</sup>.

The reader of John's Gospel finds a distinctive orientation to John's plot both in the central affirmation (1,11-13) of the introduction (1,1-18) to his narrative and in the concluding, retrospective statement of purpose (20,30-31). In both cases, the motif is life through faith in the Messianic Son of God. The Prologue announces this motif in the immediate context of acceptance as contrasted with rejection. Moreover, it depicts the divine communication as effected on the basis of testimony, that of John the Baptist. The body of the narrative, accordingly, begins with the Baptist's testimony. Soon, however, John's testimony yields to that of Jesus' own signs. In Part One, John repeatedly points to Jesus, even when John himself has moved off the center of the stage. In Part Two, Jesus refers to him as a human witness who had a temporary role to play (5,33-36). The final reference to John occurs at the very close of Part Two (10,41-42), where his disciples accept Jesus on the basis of John's testimony and, at the same time, acknowledge Jesus' unique role as a worker of signs. The climactic Part Three does not even mention John, and develops Jesus' own signs, not only by the climactic sign which he has *worked* (the raising of Lazarus), but by the sign which he has *predicted* (the crucifixion-exaltation) and *becomes* (as the crucified and risen Lord, still bearing the marks of his crucifixion and death). Concluding the Gospel, John clearly states his purpose to an audience which already believes. To comprehend vv. 30-31 as a conclusion, however, "the signs which have been recounted in writing" must include not only those recounted from John 2 through John 11, but also the resurrection-appearances and probably that of the vacated tomb<sup>(24)</sup>.

The way in which the signs of Jesus are integrated into a tripartite working-out of the plot deserves attention on two inter-related counts: first (1), the literary presentation of the signs which Jesus worked publicly; second (2), the distinctively Johannine announcements of the passion-glorification.

<sup>(23)</sup> Ibid., 80, cited as the concise, synthesizing definition given by M. H. Abrams.

<sup>(24)</sup> The so-called "empty tomb" of Easter was "empty" before Jesus' body was laid in it; the Evangelists are unanimous on this point. John in particular suggests movement without disturbance in Jesus' "vacating" the tomb.



### 1. *Literary Presentation of the Signs Worked Publicly*

In Part One, the narrated signs (both of them at Cana) are "dialogue signs". They are not linked with a preceding or subsequent discourse as a complementary feature. In the central portion of Part One, Jesus' signs in Jerusalem are noted, even though not recounted. As received in Jerusalem, the signs appear inadequate to ground faith. The obstacle to their effectiveness is something which lies "within men" (2,23-25). In contrast with the signs that Jesus works stands Jesus' prediction of a sign to come, his death and resurrection. That forthcoming sign will prove to be the one which produces fully-formed faith among his disciples (John 2,22).

In Part Two, the narrated signs are characterized by a *following* discourse<sup>(25)</sup>. The subsequent discourse in John 5 explains the purpose of the cure, polemically and yet irenically. To those who want to kill him, Jesus offers life rather than judgment. John 6 begins with two signs, followed by two discourses<sup>(26)</sup>. The first sign (the multiplication) is misconstrued by the crowds, who want to make Jesus their king. The second sign highlights a miraculous crossing of the sea, but explains this in terms of the disciples' taking Jesus at his word of self-manifestation. One is reminded of the distinction in the central portion of Part One between the signs which Jesus works and the sign which he himself will become, particularly for his disciples (as promised in 2,18-22); for the second sign in John 6, albeit something *done*, more subtly suggests a personal epiphany and its furtherance of the disciples' activity. In the third portion of Part Two (John 7-10), Jesus has no intention of performing signs during the Feast of Tabernacles. Subsequently, on a sabbath, he does perform a sign. Like that in John 5, this contains a dialogue, and its concluding portion opens into a lengthy discourse. Sign and discourse in John 9,1-10,21, however, do not seem to interlock as tightly as before. Nevertheless, John expressly indicates the link by concluding the whole passage on the note of

(25) The "sign" in John 5 is called simply a "work". The latter term, admittedly, fits a wider and generally vaguer classification; it refers to what Jesus *did*. This particular "sign", however, appropriately receives no further designation than the term "work", because its central point concerns what only God (or his Son, a divine person) can *do* / work on the sabbath.

(26) Cf. C.H. GIBLIN, "The Miraculous Crossing of the Sea (John 6.16-21)", *NTS* 29 (1983) 96-103, 98-99.

dissension and by adding the retrospective remark of those favorable to Jesus (10,19-21). Moreover, no change of scene or of audience disrupts the movement from 9,39 through 10,18; at the same time, the imagery shifts notably, but in a complementary way: from not seeing to not hearing; from newly-received sight to habitually-sensitive listening. In general, the sign and discourse also move from what Jesus has come to do to who he is. In the closing episode of this portion of Part Two, John speaks of the Feast of the Dedication (i.e., of the reconsecration of the temple and its altar). No further sign is narrated. Jesus' previous signs are mentioned ("fine works", 10,32), but only so as to focus attention on accepting him for who he is. He refuses to accept an identifying "label" and insists on "defining himself" *relationally*, as the Father's Son.

In Part Three, the narrated signs take on an additional dimension. First, the raising of Lazarus combines the sign (with its inner dialogue) and a discourse, but the discourse *precedes* the sign<sup>(27)</sup>. Furthermore, for the first time, the narrated sign contains Jesus' prayer to the Father (11,41-42) and enunciates (11,4) the theme of mutual glorification<sup>(28)</sup>. Second, the passion-resurrection, as John 2,18-22 announced, constitutes a single sign and, as M. de Jonge noted, specifies the trajectory of Jesus' going to the Father<sup>(29)</sup>. This climactic sign is also prefaced by a preceding discourse or set of discourses, which include at least those in John 13-17<sup>(30)</sup>.

(27) Actually, there are two discourses: the first, to the disciples, as Jesus is about to go back to Judea (11,7-10.11-16); the second, the revelation-discourse to Martha (11,25-26).

(28) In John 11, this theme entails the combination of 11,4 and 11,40-43, supposing Jesus' self-identification as Resurrection and Life (11,25-26). Thus, mutual glorification reveals both persons, by reason of their unique personal relationship, to be the source of life for believing humans. This theme remains central to the only other noted instances of Jesus' prayer to the Father in John's Gospel — both of them also in Part Three: 12,27-28 (cf. 12,23.32-33); 17,1-26.

(29) M. DE JONGE, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven and Son of God. Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective* (Missoula 1977) 127, points out further, apropos of John 20,30-31, that "the evangelist could only adequately present the Gospel as a record of signs after he had told how the Risen Lord had given the Spirit to the disciples who had seen the signs".

(30) Jesus' last *public* discourse (12,44-50), apparently situated on the fifth day before the Passover (cp. 12,12, "the next day", after 12,1, "... six days before the Passover"), appeals to personal belief in which vision

## 2. *Distinctively Johannine Passion Predictions*

The three Johannine passion-exaltation predictions occur once in each of the three cycles of John's narrative. Progressively, they are given to an ever wider audience. Like the differently-phrased passion predictions of the Synoptics, they serve as a key element in moving the plot of the gospel story to its climax. Perhaps even more so than in the Synoptics, the Johannine passion-predictions integrate Jesus' teaching and miracles with his ultimate manifestation to the world on the cross.

In Part One, when Jesus is in Jerusalem during Passover, he enunciates a forthcoming sign, his death and resurrection. In connection with the same feast, he states the first prediction of his death to one who represents a "school of thought" among the Jews which is favorable to Jesus on the basis of his signs. As the discourse progresses, Jesus presents his passion-glorification as the ultimate, heavenly testimony of God's love for the world. He specifies the ultimate sign of his death and resurrection, already given to the Jews, in a biblical perspective as God's own testimony in Jesus' revelatory death (3,10-17).

In Part Two, the second passion-glorification prediction (8,28) is embedded in a public controversy. It occurs on the last, climactic day of the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem and its temple. No signs are featured; the context deals exclusively with acceptance or rejection of Jesus' self-revelation to a sharply divided and generally hostile group. He couches his prediction in biblical terms, this time in language recalling Ezekiel<sup>(31)</sup>.

In Part Three, the audience for the third passion-glorification prediction (12,20-33) widens to include the Greeks as well as Jesus' own disciples. The link with the "sign" of his passion becomes ex-

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transcends signs (12,45) as it is meant to do for Jesus' closest disciples (cp. his words to Philip in 14,9). Accordingly, this passage may be taken with those in John 13-17 as part of a preceding set of discourses.

<sup>(31)</sup> "Then you / they will know that I am the Lord" indicates, in Ezekiel, a definitive *event* which, for the weal or woe of those concerned (depending on the situation), will effectively communicate the glorious sovereignty of the Lord. By employing this phraseology in his passion-prediction of 8,28, John points to Jesus' death as the ultimate revelation intended by his words — as, in its own way, the first passion prediction (3,14-16) pointed to the same event as the ultimate revelation as a sign or thing done.

pressly articulated (12,33). Although the general context suggests that the Greeks may have wanted to see him because of the sign he worked in raising Lazarus, the focal point rests on seeing him through some personal introduction on the part of one of Jesus' disciples. Suggestively, the Greeks' contact with Jesus takes place through the mediation of disciples who not only had Greek names (Philip and Andrew) but were among the first ones Jesus chose. This final passion prediction also incorporates Jesus' teaching for all his disciples: their rule of life must be patterned on his if they are to prove fruitful and if they are to be rewarded by being with him, being honored by his Father. The reader finds himself already within the movement of the climactic part of the Gospel.

#### IV. Concluding Observations

Some distinctively Johannine motifs appear to be more coherently developed within the tripartite framework examined above. Only John, for instance, mentions Nicodemus. In Part One, he appears to be favorable, but uncomprehending (3,1-21). In Part Two, he appeals for due process for Jesus, but is silenced (7,50-52). Lastly, in Part Three, he helps reverently to bury Jesus (19,39-42). Although it seems impossible to prove that Nicodemus is eventually converted, John expressly links the three episodes ([τὸ] πρότερον, 7,50; νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, 19,39) and suggests a development of courageous respect.

Elsewhere, I have argued that John may develop a given theological motif by successively restating it. For instance, he discloses Jesus' role as the one who enables the disciples to succeed<sup>(32)</sup>. In Part One, this motif appears parabolically in the discourse explaining the harvest, which the disciples are said (prophetically) to be reaping as the Samaritans come towards Jesus: the harvest has been made possible by Jesus in his completing the Father's work; he and the Father are the "others" who have labored (4,32-38)<sup>(33)</sup>. In Part Two, Jesus' reassurance, together with the disciples' readiness to accept him at his word of self-identification, accounts for their miraculously reaching the goal of their journey (6,16-21)<sup>(34)</sup>. In Part

<sup>(32)</sup> GIBLIN, "The Miraculous Crossing of the Sea", 100-101.

<sup>(33)</sup> Ibid., 99-100.

<sup>(34)</sup> Ibid., 97-98.

Three, one finds the image of the vine and the branches, which has long served as a "proof-text" for God's grace: "...for apart from me, you can do nothing" (15,5b)<sup>(35)</sup>.

Another motif, that of Jesus as the "gateway", may also be discerned in each of the three parts. In the first, Jesus speaks of himself, the Son of Man, as the "heavenly skyscraper-gateway" (1,51), the ziggurat of Jacob's vision and the channel of God's promised blessings. In the second, Jesus presents himself as the "gate" for the sheep (10,7-10), the authentic means for protection and the way to abundant life. Lastly, in response to Thomas on the eve of his passion, Jesus reveals himself as the (sole) way, both truth and life, without which no one can reach the Father (14,5-6)<sup>(36)</sup>.

A literary pattern of "suggestion made to Jesus, negative response on his part, then surprising positive action by Jesus" occurs four times in John's Gospel<sup>(37)</sup>. Only three of these instances (the inaugural sign at Cana, the encore sign at Cana, and the raising of Lazarus) figure in signs. The remaining one is the situation in which Jesus deals with his relatives before the feast of Tabernacles (7,2-4). In terms of the tripartite division of the Gospel, one may more readily grasp the coherence of the pattern. In Part One, the two instances are the complementary signs at Cana — and the only signs narrated in that part. The combination helps establish the very perspective of a Johannine "sign" — a miraculous event pointing to a manifestation of Jesus' glory (his creative and / or life-giving power) that lies beyond immediate temporal or spatial circumstances<sup>(38)</sup>. In Part Three, these theological principles are restated anew, with the added concern of Jesus for those he loves, the express note of mutual glorification of the Father and the Son, and the adumbration of his own resurrection. Part Two, however, highlights controversy, disaffection, antipathetical misunderstanding. In particular the third section (John 7-10) in this part (John 5-10), does not relate a sign on its highlighted feasts of Tabernacles and the

<sup>(35)</sup> Ibid., 99. A fourth text, the Miraculous Catch, occurs in the Supplement, John 21,1-14; *ibid.*, 101.

<sup>(36)</sup> "Truth and life" complement the principal, key notion of "the way." Cf. I. DE LA POTTERIE, *La Vérité dans Saint Jean* (Rome 1977) 261-266.

<sup>(37)</sup> GIBLIN, "Suggestion", 197-198.

<sup>(38)</sup> Ibid., 211.

Dedication<sup>(39)</sup>. Instead, this closing section focuses on Jesus' words and points ahead to that feast *for* which Jesus will go to Jerusalem (7,8), namely, the final Passover<sup>(40)</sup>. The pattern in Part Two, therefore, brings out the "prophetic sign" that is Jesus himself. As the discourses on the feast of Tabernacles make clear, especially on the last, climactic day of the feast (7,37–8,59), he will be the source of living water in his death and resurrection (7,37–39), he is meant to illumine the world (8,12–20), and his exaltation on the cross will constitute the ultimate sign of his personal revelation of the Father (8,21–29).

The only clear references to sacraments occur once in each of the three parts of John's Gospel and, each time, in a way which relates them intrinsically to Jesus' death and resurrection. In Part One, Jesus explains to Nicodemus that rebirth by Baptism (3,5) can be understood as possible — as the biblically-schooled Nicodemus should know — through accepting testimony to a heavenly mystery. The earthly mystery of Baptism<sup>(41)</sup> is explained by the heavenly mystery of God's unseen love for the world, which only the Son of Man is in a position to reveal (since he alone is the one who has been in heaven). That unseen love is scripturally attested in the exaltation of the Servant (according to Moses' symbolic action in the desert) as the source of everlasting life. Baptism's life-giving efficacy is grounded in Jesus' life-giving death as seen by the believer. Part Two contains Jesus' teaching on the Eucharist to many scandalized disciples (6,60–65). The mystery of the Son of Man's "going to the Father, where he was before", that is, his death and resurrection, is greater than that of the sacrament of his

<sup>(39)</sup> The cure of the man born blind and its following discourse (9,1–10,21) occur on some intervening sabbath and, in a sense, counterbalance the cure of the unbelieving and ungrateful paralytic in the first section (John 5) of Part Two.

<sup>(40)</sup> He does not go up *for* the feast of Tabernacles, since he arrives in the *middle* of it (7,14).

<sup>(41)</sup> The "earthly" mystery must refer not specifically to the illustration of the *wind* in Jesus' remarks to Nicodemus (3,7–8) but to something which Nicodemus did not *believe* (3,12; cp. 3,3–5,9). "Earthly" should not be construed disparagingly here (cp. 3,31), but rather as what is "concretely manifest" in contrast to what is "heavenly" or "unseen by mere mortals".

The *a fortiori* reasoning behind the contrasts in John 3,12 and 6,61–62 can be found in Jewish apocalyptic; e.g., 2 *Baruch* 55, 4–8.

body and blood. By implication, Jesus' death and resurrection must be acknowledged as the *a fortiori* source of that life now and to come (on the last day) which the Eucharist itself promises and effects. Part Three features not the Eucharist — for obvious reasons, given the handling of sacramental motifs in the first two parts — but does highlight the sacrament of Reconciliation (20,21-23)<sup>(42)</sup>. Clearly, the communication of the Spirit in John 20 recalls the promises of 14,27-28 and 16,33, and derives directly from Jesus' passion-resurrection-ascension.

No doubt other facets of John's theology will strike the eye more clearly if they are examined in the perspective of a tripartite narrative structure of events, and a complementary, bipartite presentation of the kinds of signs which John describes. Certain infrequent or, rather, unique titles of Jesus occur in successive parts, and may merit special attention according to their placement in the overall narrative: "Savior of the World" (4,42), "God's Holy One" (6,68), "My Lord and my God" (20,28). Interestingly, these titles are correlated with a basis in religious experience — and a Johannine critique of it — which befits the progression of the narrative. Thus, the Samaritans aver: "...for we ourselves have heard and know" (4,42); Peter confesses: "...and we have believed and have come to know..."; and Thomas is gently reproved: "You have believed because you have *seen* me?...". A new assessment of the structure of John's Gospel will prove its value only in so far as it aids the reader's perception of unity, coherence and definable theological emphasis in the Evangelist's well-wrought composition.

Fordham University  
New York, NY 10458-5198  
USA

Charles H. GIBLIN SJ

<sup>(42)</sup> The emphasis on this sacrament should not be surprising, given John's attention to the matter of unbelief and even to a "doubting" disciple like Thomas (who, nevertheless, eventually makes the greatest profession of faith enunciated in John's Gospel, 20,28).

The "binding" of sins mentioned in 20,23 may perhaps be clarified by noting that Jesus qualifies the power he bestows by saying: "As the Father sent me, so I send you". Jesus' own "binding" of sins while carrying out his mission may aptly be illustrated by his declaration in 9,41 about the disbelieving: "If you were blind, you would not have sin; now, though, you say, 'We see!' *Your sin remains*".

## SOMMAIRE

La structure tripartite du corps de l'évangile de Jean (1,19-4,54; 5,1-10,42; 11,1-20,29) est basée sur des indications de temps, d'espace et sur certains aspects de la mise en intrigue. Cela a pour conséquence de faire ressortir la mission universelle de Jésus, l'hostilité envers Jésus dans les grandes controverses (Jn 5-10), et l'amour de Jésus pour ses amis. Plusieurs motifs distincts sont successivement développés à l'intérieur de la structure narrative tripartite. La division bipartite — couramment admise —, qui fait commencer la seconde partie de l'évangile après la transition de Jn 12,37-50, est également valide, non en ce qu'elle établit la structure de base du récit, mais en ce qu'elle indique un mouvement qui va des signes faits par Jésus au signe promis (cf. 2,18-22), qui est le Seigneur crucifié et exalté. Ainsi, l'évangile contient au moins deux structures d'ensemble complémentaires.



## Is *dipsuchos* (James 1,8; 4,8) a “Christian” Word?

### I. Introduction: Christian Words

Turning to almost any recent commentary or article on a biblical passage, the reader finds reference to “Christian” words. Treatment of the supposed contribution of Christianity to development of the Greek language, particularly its lexicon, has been present since earliest scholarly discussion, when there was thought to be a Holy Ghost Greek using otherwise unattested Greek words or Greek words with otherwise unattested senses. This continued after discovery of the papyri, when it became obvious that many of these words could be paralleled from secular sources. It gained renewed vigor under the influence of several Semitic theories, which maintained that the Greek of the NT was influenced by the first language of several of the biblical writers, Aramaic. “Christian” words came into their own when the Greek of the NT was viewed as a unique language devised by believers to express their new-found religious experience. This view has even led to a revival of the Holy Ghost language hypothesis, in terms of “a peculiar language, the language of a peculiar people”, to quote Matthew Black<sup>(1)</sup>.

The most important recent discussion of “Christian” words is by Nigel Turner<sup>(2)</sup>, who treats an incredibly large number of words to consider uniquely Christian. At one point he states that “By ‘Christian words’ I have in mind Greek terms which so far as I know the first believers devised for themselves”<sup>(3)</sup>. This makes it

(1) M. BLACK, “The Biblical Languages”, *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. vol. I: *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P.R. ACKROYD—C.F. EVANS) (Cambridge 1970) 11; cf. N. TURNER, *Syntax*, vol. 3 of *A Grammar of the Greek NT*, by J.H. MOULTON (Edinburgh 1963) 7. A summary of this discussion with bibliography is found in S.E. PORTER, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (Studies in Biblical Greek 1; New York 1989) 111-117.

(2) N. TURNER, *Christian Words* (Edinburgh 1980) IX.

(3) TURNER, *Christian Words*, IX.

very surprising that the book discusses a whole host of recognizably Greek words with good classical pedigrees.

Turner also treats as Christian words: (1) words "which acquire a deeper sense and a new consecration within the Christian vocabulary"; (2) words which "had deployed a new level of meaning in addition to their gist hitherto"; and (3) words which "have quite changed their former meaning"<sup>(4)</sup>. The examples Turner provides under these categories illustrate well how traditional biblical lexicography has lagged behind modern linguistics, and failed to take seriously the important work of James Barr and others<sup>(5)</sup>. For example, under (1) Turner includes "church" (he does not use ἐκκλησία, although treating this lexical item, a clear case of confusing word and concept). But this represents a slight semantic shift, where the sense is transferred in its predominant usage to a particular kind of gathering (an example of conservatism), since the word in secular and NT Greek refers to a group gathered for a particular purpose (the secular sense persists in Acts 19,32.39.40)<sup>(6)</sup>. Under (2) Turner includes διαθήκη, claiming there is an added sense in Christian literature of a one-sided legal arrangement. But this is simply linguistic innovation, with the classical sense at play in Heb 9,16f. Under (3) Turner claims that "peace" no longer means "the cessation of strife"<sup>(7)</sup>, although the language of Rom 5,1ff. seems to mean this. Even so, the concept of semantic borrowing provides a useful category to explain the kind of semantic movement Turner claims to find<sup>(8)</sup>.

<sup>(4)</sup> TURNER, *Christian Words*, x.

<sup>(5)</sup> The following discussion draws upon the work of M. SILVA, *Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids 1983) esp. 75-97. For a recent assessment of how post-Barr scholars continue to make some of the same mistakes chronicled in *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford 1961) see S.E. PORTER, "Two Myths: Corporate Personality and Language/Mentality Determinism", *SJT* (in press).

<sup>(6)</sup> See S.E. PORTER, "Vague Verbs, Periphrastics, and Matt 16,19", *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 1 (2; 1988) 167-168.

<sup>(7)</sup> TURNER, *Christian Words*, x.

<sup>(8)</sup> Turner includes "parable" under categories 1 and 3, under the latter arguing that it is no longer a maxim, although there are clear examples of this in the NT, e.g. Matt 13,33 regarding the leaven, and some recent scholarship has argued for its analogical nature. See J. SIDER, "Proportional Analogy in Gospel Parables", *NTS* 31 (1985) 1-23.

Besides the larger conceptual and category mistakes, Turner can be accused of blindness to the evidence. Regarding παιδεία Turner includes it among his Christian words, while admitting that the sense of “chastise” is found in secular Greek in BGU 846.11 (a well-known, spirited letter from a boy to his mother) and is a development of the secular sense. Turner has fallen victim to the worst of Barr’s criticisms: he is doing theology through the study of individual words, and often English words and usages at that.

Turner’s analysis of Christian words is not helpful for distinguishing a “Christian” word. But what would such a word look like? Let me suggest the following categories for consideration. The group of words which can legitimately fall within this category is admittedly very small, yet I believe that there are some examples, δῖψυχος being one. First, any word which can be explained according to the standard categories of modern lexicography regarding semantic shift — such as semantic innovation or conservatism, in which the semantic range of a word is either broadened or more closely circumscribed according to its usage; semantic borrowing or loan translation — cannot legitimately be called a Christian word. The reasons for this exclusive distinction are several. First, these categories reflect the normal kinds of semantic adjustments made in uses of words in languages other than the Greek of the NT, i.e. these categories have been formulated as useful distinctions where vocabulary is analyzed apart from the pressures of theology. Lexicography of the NT is in the first instance to be treated as part of the larger field of lexical semantics.

A second reason, however, and one not often discussed, is related to the fact widely neglected in discussions of this sort that languages are systematic in nature. This systematic nature applies not only to grammar but also to the lexicon, where semantic field theory has shown that treatment of a given concept by a language is expedited through dividing this field according to use of particular lexical items<sup>(9)</sup>. This has been illustrated for example in the areas of color and kinship terms, and most recently has been applied to the

<sup>(9)</sup> See esp. S. ULLMANN, *The Principles of Semantics* (Oxford 1957) 152-170; idem, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (Oxford 1962) chap. 9; J. LYONS, *Semantics* (Cambridge 1977) 250-262; idem, *Structural Semantics* (Oxford 1963) 44-49; cf. SILVA, *Biblical Words*, 161-163.

Greek of the NT through the UBS lexicon<sup>(10)</sup>. If a new term is introduced into the semantic field, or a semantic shift of some kind occurs such that a given term might be used in a different way in relation to the concept, the language, or rather its users, must make an adjustment, so that this term is incorporated into the lexical system. This shift must occur or else either the term is rejected from use in this way or the speaker runs the risk of unintelligibility. This distinction has serious consequences for discussion of Semitic influence upon the Greek of the NT. It may be true that etymologically or historically a given lexical item is dependent upon a Semitic environment or *Vorlage*, and may even translate a word in a Semitic language, but once that term is accepted into the language by its users (assuming that the Greek of the NT is part of Hellenistic Greek) the term functions as part of the Greek language and no longer as intelligible only as part of its Semitic predecessor.

Second, the only terms which can legitimately lay claim to being Christian words are those which have their origin in the Greek of the NT and/or the writers of the early church. If a lexical item is only found in one writer, there is the possibility that this term is simply a feature of his personal code or idiolect, and not a feature of the shared code of other users. This question arises most poignantly in relation to the Greek of the Apocalypse, where some items may in fact be purely idiosyncratic<sup>(11)</sup>. Of course, there is the distinct possibility that a unique term is unintelligible to other Greek users for this reason, although a number of terms — such as James's χρυσοδακτύλιος and δίψυχος — are linguistically transparent, i.e. their meanings can be determined on the basis of their individual components. The lexical item must also be found in subsequent writers to show that it became recognized by other language users as a lexical item within the language, but it must show its earliest attestation in NT or early church writers. If it is incorporated into the language of secular writers too soon after its appearance in NT or early church writers, however, it loses its claim to being a Christian word, since it would appear to be filling a lexical need within the larger sphere of language usage.

<sup>(10)</sup> J.P. LOUW—E.A. NIDA, ed., *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT Based on Semantic Domains* (New York 1988).

<sup>(11)</sup> See S.E. PORTER, "The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion", *NTS* 35 (1989) 584-586 on the lexicon.

Third, and lastly, since a Christian word will ideally show its earliest attestation in a writer of the NT, even a single attestation in a secular author contemporary with the biblical documents leaves open the presumption that this word may in fact have been part of oral usage and simply borrowed by the biblical writer and not found in any of the other extant written texts (see below on *1, 2 Clement*).

## II. Δίψυχος as a Christian Word in James 1,8; 4,8

On the basis of the extant evidence of Greek from Homer through to the 12th century AD, including papyri, as accessible through the Ibycus data-base, *δίψυχος* (at least in its written form) appears to be a Christian word, unattested in any other but Christian writers. To go one step further, it appears to be a word first attested in Jas 1,8 and 4,8<sup>(12)</sup>. Establishing the first claim is not particularly difficult with access to the computer data-base. And recent work regarding the dating of James place it as early as, if not earlier than, the other sources in which *δίψυχος* and its cognates are found<sup>(13)</sup>. To establish the implications of these claims more clearly, I wish, first, to discuss proposed theories about the thought-world out of which this term arose, eliminating distracting and unnecessary theories; second, to discuss its use in Jas 1,8 and 4,8, where I find two distinct yet related uses of the term, uses often conflated in later writers and thus pointing to the word's origin in James; third, to discuss its usage in extra-biblical Christian writers, illustrating both the extent and the limitations of its usage, and the

<sup>(12)</sup> Why does J.B. ADAMSON, *James: The Man and His Message* (Grand Rapids 1989) 134, classify *δίψυχος* as "in the Classical Greek literature"?

<sup>(13)</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss dating of individual books of the NT or of the early church. But useful, recent summaries and assessments are to be found in J.A.T. ROBINSON, *Redating the NT* (Philadelphia 1976) 118-139 and 312-335; P. DAVIDS, *Commentary on James* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids 1982) 2-22; D.A. HAGNER, "The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr", *Gospel Perspectives 5: The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels* (ed. D. WENHAM) (Sheffield 1984) 233-234 with notes; J. DRAPER, "The Jesus Tradition in the Didache", *Gospel Perspectives 5*, 269-271 with notes; W.R. SCHOEDEL, "The Apostolic Fathers", *The NT and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. E.J. EPP-G.W. MACRAE) (Atlanta 1989) 457ff. passim; M. HENGEL, "Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinische Polemik", *Tradition and Interpretation in the NT* (FS. E.E. Ellis; [ed. G.F. HAWTHORNE with O. BETZ] Grand Rapids 1987) 248-252.

possible relation between the biblical and extra-biblical usage; and fourth, to establish briefly the implications of these findings for NT lexicography. As a result, I think it can be shown that the presumption rests with seeing the author of the book of James as a creative user of the Greek language, probably himself inventing a lexical item to express a concept he wished to grammaticalize in a single lexical form, which had subsequent widespread though exclusive use within a Christian linguistic environment. To paraphrase Ropes in the reverse, there are many good reasons to suppose that the author of James coined the word διψυχος<sup>(14)</sup>.

The standard lexicons translate διψυχος as "double-minded", although this is not the literal rendering which Bauer claims that it is (see also RSV)<sup>(15)</sup>. More accurately, the literal rendering would perhaps be "double-souled" or "double-spirited"<sup>(16)</sup>. A number of NT scholars are at pains to determine the semantic background of the term. Interestingly these attempts virtually always revolve around determining its meaning in James. Several proposals warrant mention. First is that this term was formed on analogy in Greek to other compound words, often words using the prefixed δι to indicate "two". For example, διγλωσσος is found in Sir 5,9 and Philo, *Sac. of Abel and Cain* 4.269, διπρόσωπος in *T. Asher* 2.5, and διχόνους in Philo, *Sac. of Abel and Cain* 4.269; cf. 1 Tim 3,8 with δίλογος<sup>(17)</sup>.

But the concept of a divided person is not new to James or these other Hellenistic writers; it can be found in earlier secular writers as well. For example, Homer, *Il.* 1:188-189 states: Achilles διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν, whether he should kill Agamemnon or control his wrath; 16:435: διχθαῖ δέ μοι κραδίη μέμονε φρεσίν (cf. 21:386); 20:32: δίχα θυμὸν ἔχοντες (*Od.* 16:73; 19:524); Theognis 91: μὴ γλώσση δίχα ἔχειν νόον; Herodotus 6.109: ἐγίνοντο δίχα οἱ γινῶμαι; Plato, *Rep.* 554D regarding an oligarch: οὐκ ἄρ' ἂν εἴη ἀστασίαστος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀλλὰ διπλοῦς τις;

<sup>(14)</sup> See J.H. ROPES, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James* (ICC; Edinburgh [1978]) 90, who states, "there is no reason to suppose that the author of James coined the word διψυχος".

<sup>(15)</sup> See LSJ, s.v.; BAGD, s.v., who render it: "doubting, hesitating, lit. double-minded". See also ADAMSON, *James*, 323.

<sup>(16)</sup> ROPES, *James*, 143.

<sup>(17)</sup> R.P. MARTIN, *James* (WBC 48; Waco 1988) 20; cf. J.B. MAYOR, *The Epistle of St. James* (1897; reprinted, Grand Rapids 1978) 41 for other examples.

Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6.1.41 says: δύο γὰρ ... σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς ... οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὖσα ἅμα ἀγαθὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ κακὴ; Epictetus, *Encheir.* 29.7: ἓνα σε δεῖ ἄνθρωπον ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν εἶναι<sup>(18)</sup>. But in none of these writers is the lexical item δίψυχος used, no matter how similar the usage or its supposed construction.

Others propose a source earlier than James or the church fathers, referred to in *1 Clem.* 23.3: πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ ψυχῇ, οἱ λέγοντες. Lightfoot believes that the *Book of Eldad and Modad*<sup>(19)</sup> was the source of this reference, but that the almost identical quotation in *2 Clem.* 11.2 was derived from a different source<sup>(20)</sup>. However, although they are introduced by different words, the quotations as bearing on δίψυχος only differ in use of τῇ καρδίᾳ for τῇ ψυχῇ (see Jas 4,8, which has καρδίας)<sup>(21)</sup>. But there are other, more significant problems with this position. First, appeal to a non-existent source found only by secondary reference, when a clear and present and almost assuredly earlier source is available, James, appears to be an unnecessary hypothesis, especially since Lightfoot himself admits that Clement appears to have known the book of James<sup>(22)</sup>. Second, *1 Clem.* 23 and *2 Clem.* 11 have verbal and conceptual parallels which reflect James,

<sup>(18)</sup> See LSJ, δίχα; ROPES, *James*, 143; MAYOR, *James*, 41.

<sup>(19)</sup> See E. SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)* (rev. ed.; Edinburgh 1987), III, 2, 783, on the *Book of Eldad and Modad*. I cannot take seriously the supposition of this book's existence as the source of this usage on the basis of four words quoted in *Shepherd of Hermas* at 7.4.

<sup>(20)</sup> J. B. LIGHTFOOT, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 1: Clement; vol. 2 (London 1890; reprinted, Peabody, MA 1989) 80-81. Cf. O. J. F. SEITZ, "Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James", *JBL* 63 (1944) 131-140, who also believes that these quotations point to an earlier, extrabiblical source for James and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; and F. W. YOUNG, "The Relation of 1 Clement to the Epistle of James", *JBL* 67 (1948) 339-345, who claims that James is dependent on *1 Clement*.

<sup>(21)</sup> SEITZ, "Relationship", 135, believes that the author substituted ψυχῇ to show the origin of δίψυχος. This is unnecessary conjecture, since the word is clearly transparent.

<sup>(22)</sup> J. B. LIGHTFOOT, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 1: Clement; vol. 1 (London 1890; reprinted, Peabody, MA 1989) 397; cf. vol. 2, p. 100. More recently see D. A. HAGNER, *The Use of the Old and New Testament in Clement of Rome* (NTS 34; Leiden 1973) 248-256, whose evidence is probably stronger than he gives it credit.

especially chaps. 1 and 4. In their larger contexts *1 Clem.* 23.2 says: διὸ μὴ διψυχῶμεν, μηδὲ ἰνδαλλέσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις καὶ ἐνδόξοις δωρεαῖς αὐτοῦ; and *2 Clem.* 11.5 says: ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ διψυχῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσαντες ὑπομείνωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν κομισώμεθα, followed by a quotation of Heb 10,23. Similarities of the passages in *1* and *2 Clement* and James include the following: *1 Clem.* 23.1 uses ἀπλῆ, whereas Jas 1,5 uses ἀπλῶς, just before the passages with forms of δίψυχος. *1 Clem.* 23.2 and *2 Clem.* 11.2 use ταλαίπωροι, whereas Jas 4,9 uses ταλαιπωρήσατε (*2 Clem.* 11.2 also uses ταλαίπωροι before introducing the quotation). In *2 Clem.* 11.4 the quotation has ἀκαταστασίας, whereas Jas 1,8 has ἀκατάστατος; and ἀπολήπεται, whereas Jas 1,7 has λήμψεται. Whereas James 1 speaks of requesting wisdom from God who will give to the one who asks, *1 Clement* speaks of respecting God's gifts and *2 Clement* of serving God with a pure heart. And whereas James 1 turns to a nature analogy regarding the tossing of the sea, *1* and *2 Clement* conclude with an analogy from nature regarding a productive plant, similar to James's analogy in 1,11. Third, Hagner has noted in discussing *1 Clem.* 23.3 that the context immediately preceding the quotation in Clement has various wordings "which seem reminiscent of James", including passages similar to Jas 5,11 as well as 1,5ff.<sup>(23)</sup> Thus, whereas *1* and *2 Clement* are not apparently directly summarizing or paraphrasing James at this point, it seems clear that the thinking in each is heavily influenced by James (although for *2 Clement* this may come by way of *1 Clement*), to the point of using forms of δίψυχος, as well as including other verbal and conceptual parallels from chaps. 1 and 4.

Others see the origin of δίψυχος in various Semitic sources, including contemporary Jewish and possibly Qumran thought. Rabbinic Judaism's use of the two *yetzers* as representing one's good

<sup>(23)</sup> See HAGNER, *Use*, 252-253, who notes that *1 Clem.* 23.1a (ὁ οἰκτίρμων κατὰ πάντα καὶ εὐεργετικὸς πατὴρ ἔχει σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν) is similar to Jas 5,11 (καὶ τὸ τέλος κυρίου εἶδετε, ὅτι πολὺσπλαγχνός ἐστιν ὁ κύριος καὶ οἰκτίρμων); and *1 Clem.* 23.1b (ἡπίως τε καὶ προσηνῶς τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῖ τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἀπλῇ διανοίᾳ) is similar to Jas 1,5-6 (αἰτέτω παρὰ τοῦ διδόντος θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ. αἰτέτω δὲ ἐν πίστει μηδὲν διακρινόμενος).



and bad intentions is often drawn upon<sup>(24)</sup>. But this correlation, while potentially interesting, is surely no explanation of James's use of διψυχος for several reasons. First, appeal to Rabbinic material always confronts the problem of dating of the documents. And I am not convinced that the tools are available to date accurately any of the Rabbinic material to earlier than 70 AD in a way which would prove instructive here<sup>(25)</sup>. Second, these sources can only provide conceptual parallels, not evidence of what has occurred in the development or formation of this word in the Greek language. This is especially true in light of evidence that ψυχή is not the usual or natural translational equivalent of *yetzer*<sup>(26)</sup>. Related to this proposal is the assertion that the Qumran documents, in particular the *Manual of Discipline*, *Thanksgiving Scroll* and *Damascus Document*, shed instructive light on James's use of διψυχος<sup>(27)</sup>. Whereas the Qumran documents mitigate the problem of dating, they retain the serious drawback that while they may provide intriguing conceptual parallels they actually tell very little about the word διψυχος in Greek. Potentially more helpful would be evidence from Jewish literature written in Greek. This evidence too has been cited. For example, Hebrew בלב ולב is translated by ἐν καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ in Ps 11,3 (12,2); ἐν καρδίᾳ δισση in 1 Chr 12,34(33) and Sir 1,28. But whereas these documents may speak of a divided heart, in

(24) See e.g. O.J.F. SEITZ, "Antecedents and Signification of the Term ΔΙΨΥΧΟΣ", *JBL* 66 (1947) 211-218; cf. DAVIDS, *James*, 74, cf. 36; J.B. ADAMSON, *The Epistle of James* (NICNT; Grand Rapids 1976) 60 (cited as *Epistle*).

(25) See esp. J. NEUSNER, "'Judaism' after Moore: A Programmatic Statement", *JJS* 31 (1980) 141-156; idem, "New Problems, New Solutions: Current Events in Rabbinic Studies", *Method and Meaning in Ancient Judaism, Third Series* (Chico, CA 1981) 61-81; P.S. ALEXANDER, "Rabbinic Judaism and the NT", *ZNW* 74 (1983) 237-246. On the *yetzer* see S.E. PORTER, "The Pauline Concept of Original Sin, in Light of Rabbinic Background", *Tyndale Bulletin* 41 (1990) 3-8.

(26) See S.S. MARSHALL, "Δίψυχος: a local term?", *SE* VI (ed. E.A. LIVINGSTONE) (Berlin 1973) 348-349.

(27) See W.I. WOLVERTON, "The Double-Minded Man in the Light of Essene Psychology", *ATHR* 38 (1956) 166-175. O.J.F. SEITZ, "Afterthoughts on the Term 'Dipsychos'", *NTS* 4 (1957-58) 328-334, extends this theory to points of correlation between the *Thanksgiving Scroll* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. See also idem, "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis", *NTS* 6 (1959-60) 82-95.

no place in the Septuagint or any other Jewish Greek document is the word δῖψυχος or a cognate used.

And still others see δῖψυχος as part of contemporary Roman idiom. Sophie Laws contends that on the basis of the widespread use of δῖψυχος in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, 1 and 2 *Clement*, and *Didache*, as well as James, and the conceptual parallels from extra-biblical literature, and on the basis of the suggested relationships of several of these works with Rome, δῖψυχος was a local idiom, probably associated with Rome<sup>(28)</sup>. Such speculation is just that, speculation, especially in light of the lack of any other contemporary secular Greek text which uses this word, and there are many Hellenistic Greek texts whose provenance is Roman. It can serve as a working hypothesis, therefore, that until such time as an extant source earlier than the book of James is found, the origin of δῖψυχος is the book of James. This hypothesis stands up favorably in light of current alternatives, including hypothetical and supposed sources, all open to serious question, and certainly in light of merely conceptual parallels, no matter how interested they may be in trying to determine the meaning of δῖψυχος<sup>(29)</sup>.

The second major issue to discuss is what δῖψυχος means, in light of how it is used in Jas 1,8 and 4,8. Dibelius in his commentary asserts of James that "the entire document lacks continuity in thought", making it difficult to determine the meaning of any given passage in relation to any other passage within the book, since the book is a parenesis stringing together various and assorted admonitions<sup>(30)</sup>. Comparing usage of δῖψυχος in James is salvaged by two factors, however. First, Dibelius concedes that 1,1-8 form a unit, as a sub-section of a larger unit of 1,1-18<sup>(31)</sup>. Second, Luke Johnson has convincingly argued for the unity of 3,13-4,10 on the basis of the topos of Hellenistic philosophical moralizing on envy<sup>(32)</sup>. With

<sup>(28)</sup> S. LAWS, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James* (San Francisco 1980) 60-61; MARSHALL, "Δῖψυχος", 349-351.

<sup>(29)</sup> MAYOR, *James*, CCXVIII, 40-41; *contra* M. DIBELIUS, *James* (ed. H. GREEVEN) (Hermeneia; Philadelphia 1976) 82-83.

<sup>(30)</sup> DIBELIUS, *James*, 1-11, quotation p.2. Quite different in perspective are DAVIDS, *James*, 22-28, who tries to find unity around the figure of a redactor; and ADAMSON, *James*, 100-118.

<sup>(31)</sup> DIBELIUS, *James*, 69.

<sup>(32)</sup> L. T. JOHNSON, "Jas 3,13-4,10 and the *Τόπος περὶ φθόνου*", *NT* 25 (1983) 327-347.

these factors in place, therefore, it should not be impossible to analyze and compare use of *δίψυχος* in Jas 1,8 and 4,8. Discussion of the individual sections will treat three elements: lexical, grammatical and contextual factors.

Lexically, *δίψυχος* enters into several important meaning relations in 1,2-8<sup>(33)</sup>. It is defined by two apparently synonymous phrases: *ὁ... διακρινόμενος* (v. 6) and *ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ* (v. 8). That doubt appears to be central to this passage can be seen in the repeated use of *διακρινόμενος*. Whereas many commentators recognize the sense "doubt" for this word, perhaps the translation "divided" or "at variance with oneself" not only is acceptable in light of its usage elsewhere but captures more accurately the sense here. *ἀκατάστατος* is rendered by most commentators "unsettled" or "unstable", implying not following an established order (cf. Dibelius who renders it "vacillating")<sup>(34)</sup>, and is a widely used adjective of classical and Hellenistic provenance, although it only appears here and in 3,8 in the NT, and rarely of persons<sup>(35)</sup>. Cognates are found in the NT in e.g. 1 Cor 14,33, where *ἀκαταστασία* is opposed to *εἰρήνη*. Here and in 3,8 the denotation of "unsettled" or "unstable" is appropriate, the first usage with respect to human behavior in general, and the other with respect to the tongue itself being an "unsettled or unstable bad thing".

Grammatically, *διακρινόμενος* in the first instance serves as an adverbial participle modifying the present imperative, *αἰτείτω* (v. 6). The contrast is between "asking in faith" and "having no division or variance with oneself". This collocation of *πίστις* and *διακρίνω* is known elsewhere in the NT (Matt 21,21; Mark 11,23; Rom 4,20; 14,23), illustrating the opposition between having faith as being single-minded and being of divided purpose. Having referred to such a doubter with the adverbial participle, using his common technique

<sup>(33)</sup> DIBELIUS, *James*, 80, cites an early exegesis of this passage by "Cyril" (this reference was not found using Ibycus): εἰ γὰρ μὴ πεπίστευκας, ὅτι τὴν σὴν αἴτησιν ἀποπεραίνει, μηδὲ προσήλθες ὁλως ἵνα μὴ κατήγορος εὐρεθῇς τοῦ πάντα ἰσχύοντος, διψυχήσας ἀβουλήτως, translated by him "For if you have not believed that He fulfills your request, do not approach Him at all, lest unwittingly having uncertainties you be found accusing Him who is in every way powerful".

<sup>(34)</sup> DIBELIUS, *James*, 83.

<sup>(35)</sup> See F.J.A. HORT, *The Epistle of St James* (London 1909) 13.

of word linkage or catchwords<sup>(36)</sup>, the author of James then uses the articular participle as subject of the perfect *ἔοικεν* to single out one member of the class, *ὁ ... διακρινόμενος*, cited again as “that man” in v. 7<sup>(37)</sup>. And it is of this one that he makes the analogy of a wave tossed by the wind (note use of explanatory *γάρ*, which introduces the figure)<sup>(38)</sup>. Then the phrase *ἄνθρωπος διψυχος* is used in apposition to describe that man of v. 7<sup>(39)</sup>. Although this phrase conforms to James’s tendency to place the adjective immediately after its substantive<sup>(40)</sup>, this might seem a little surprising in light of the possibility of James coining *διψυχος*. The probable explanation is that while James found this neologism useful for his descriptive purposes, and clearly defines it in its surrounding linguistic context, he had no idea whether this word would be confined to his idiolect or would be used by subsequent writers (in fact such a question probably never arose in his mind), and so he simply uses it as he would any other adjective in relation to a noun. *ἀκατάστατος* is a second adjective modifying *ἄνθρωπος*, pointing out further what characterizes the divided man. The lack of a connective between the two adjectives raises the question of whether they are being used in sequence (Hort’s “a man of two minds *and so* unstable in all his ways”)<sup>(41)</sup> or emphatically: he is *διψυχος*, i.e. unstable in all areas of life (*ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς*). The latter explanation is better<sup>(42)</sup>.

Contextually, many commentators have pointed to the wisdom background evident in James<sup>(43)</sup>, but in this instance, a second solution presents itself. The language James uses here regarding asking and receiving appears to be a version of Matt 7:7: “ask and

<sup>(36)</sup> See *λειπόμενοι* and *λείπεται* in vv. 4 and 5; and *αἰτεῖν* in vv. 5 and 6. Cf. DIBELIUS, *James*, 6-11, and 70, where he sees use of *λειπ* as merely an “external connective device” in vv. 4 and 5.

<sup>(37)</sup> MAYOR, *James*, CLXXXIII.

<sup>(38)</sup> ROPES, *James*, 141.

<sup>(39)</sup> See MAYOR, *James*, 41, rightly against the phrase as subject of the verb *λήμψεται*.

<sup>(40)</sup> MAYOR, *James*, CCX.

<sup>(41)</sup> HORT, *James*, 13.

<sup>(42)</sup> *Contra* ROPES, *James*, 144, who takes the phrase as “applied” to *ὁ διακρινόμενος*.

<sup>(43)</sup> See e.g. DIBELIUS, *James*, 79-83; DAVIDS, *James*, 51-56; MARTIN, *James*, 17-18; *contra* ROPES, *James*, 139.

it will be given to you" (44). Either James is dependent upon Jesus tradition, or they both share a common source, perhaps in this sense sharing a wisdom tradition, though mediated to James through the words of Jesus. That James appears to be drawing upon and explicating the dominical statement can be argued for several reasons, apart from the fact that James never cites Jesus' words explicitly, even though he has more allusions than any of the early church writers (45). First there are verbal parallels: αἰτεῖτε and αἰτείτω; δοθήσεται in both (the two most crucial words connected to the theme), with God understood in both as the one who gives. Second there are grammatical parallels. Matthew uses the 2nd person plural imperative followed by the future passive 3rd person singular, whereas James uses the 3rd person singular imperative followed by the future passive 3rd person singular. The future passive verb is connected by καί in each, prompting even Dibelius to recognize a common grammatical construction with the coordinating καί best rendered "and then" or "and so" (46). Each has the imperative appear without an expressed grammatical subject and has the future passive verb (divine passive?) governing an object in the dative. Third there are contextual parallels. Matthew uses αἰτεῖτε to begin a general section on beseeching God, whereas James uses αἰτείτω to introduce a section on beseeching God for a specific thing, wisdom. Matthew follows his commands with the example of a man giving his child an inappropriate gift, whereas James equates the doubting asker with the waves of the sea. Thus, whereas James is perhaps not directly quoting Matthew, it appears defensible that he is paraphrasing and using the dominical words for his own purposes.

Dibelius argues that "one must forgo all the examples of a metaphysical dualism" often cited in relation to this passage and see

(44) See P. H. DAVIDS, "James and Jesus", *Gospel Perspectives* 5, 66, who cites it as a close allusion. For less optimistic views of James's use of dominical tradition see M. H. SHEPHERD, "The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew", *JBL* 75 (1956) 40-51, but who admits there is a lack of proof for his position.

(45) DAVIDS, *James*, 9, n. 30; G. KITTEL, "Der Jakobusbrief und die Apostolischen Väter", *ZNW* 43 (1950-51) esp. 83-84, where he summarizes his results, which Davids uses. Cf. G. KITTEL, "Der geschichtliche Ort des Jakobusbriefes", *ZNW* 41 (1942) 85, who claims that the dominical source is Mark 11,23f. Kittel places James earlier than the church fathers.

(46) DIBELIUS, *James*, 79-80, n. 45.

that "The dualism which is mentioned in our passage can in any event be only a practical dualism; what is involved is vacillation between certainty and uncertainty with regard to whether prayer will be answered" <sup>(47)</sup>. But perhaps the argument is slightly more subtle and complex than that. The statement is made within the context of those who have faith but who are confronting various tests, imploring them to persistent belief. If one lacks knowledge of how to pray in such circumstances, one is to turn to God, who gives to all ἀπλῶς, either generously or more likely "straightforwardly" <sup>(48)</sup>, and not reproachfully. Thus the command for the believer to pray in faith and not doubt is set against the character of God, who is willing to give. Therefore, it is true that this section is constructed around a practical dualism regarding the believer — i.e. faith versus doubt — but this practical dualism is set within the context of theology, which counts on a God who is unlike the doubting man.

Regarding use of δίδουχοι in Jas 4,8, Johnson has laid out in a convincing manner how the section is organized <sup>(49)</sup>. Jas 3,13–4,10 is divided into two parts: 3,13–4,6 and 4,7–10. Connected by οὖν in 4,7, the following imperatives are based on the preceding section, summarized in 4,10 with a final command and promise. Within vv. 7–10 there are calls to submission (vv. 7–10), exhortations to move toward God and away from the devil (vv. 7–8), and demands for ethical purity and sorrow (vv. 8–9). As Johnson says, this section is concerned with, "in a word, conversion" <sup>(50)</sup>.

Whereas many commentators subsume this section within a discussion of dissension within the church, referring to members who are being led away by the evil tempter <sup>(51)</sup>, it appears that the section is rather referring to people who may be associated with the community of believers but have yet to repent or who have fallen away and must return (Hort notes that vv. 7–10 are what he calls a hortatory digression) <sup>(52)</sup>. Commentators, since they believe that

<sup>(47)</sup> DIBELIUS, *James*, 83.

<sup>(48)</sup> See MARTIN, *James*, 18, as well as virtually every other commentator.

<sup>(49)</sup> The following description summarizes JOHNSON, "Jas 3,13–4,10", esp. 332–333. Cf. DAVIDS, *James*, 165, on inclusio in vv. 7–10.

<sup>(50)</sup> JOHNSON, "Jas 3,13–4,10", 333.

<sup>(51)</sup> D.J. MOO, *James* (Tyndale; Grand Rapids 1985) 148–149; MARTIN, *James*, 139ff.; ADAMSON, *Epistle*, 175; ROPES, *James*, 269.

<sup>(52)</sup> HORT, *James*, 97. See also MAYOR, *James*, 141; DAVIDS, *James*, 165.

they have treated the word διψυχος under 1,8, rarely add anything significant to discussion of 4,8<sup>(53)</sup>. It is true that there are similarities. For example, in 1,8 there is the contrast between human and divine action, and in 4,7-10 a similar kind of movement is seen. It is seen first in the idea of choosing between God and the devil (ὑποτάγητε... τῷ θεῷ, ἀντίστητε... τῷ διαβόλῳ)<sup>(54)</sup>, and then in reciprocal movement of God and the individuals concerned (ἐγγίσατε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐγγιεῖ ὑμῖν)<sup>(55)</sup>, with these two series of oppositions forming the beginning of several others throughout this section<sup>(56)</sup>.

As Johnson's analysis makes clear, however, there are several noteworthy differences as well. First, the overall context is significantly different. Whereas 1,8 refers to a believer being exhorted not to be of two minds or divided in his intentions with respect to prayer to God, 4,8 is clearly descriptive of a context where double-mindedness is assumed and repentance is called for<sup>(57)</sup>. Second, whereas 1,8 describes a hypothetical case, in the sense that a double-minded man is a member of a group who might act in a particular way, 4,8 is specifically addressed to those who are double-minded people, using the nominative or vocative plural<sup>(58)</sup>. Third, in 4,8 the double-minded person is described as a sinner, ambivalent in whether closer to God or to the devil. ἁμαρτωλοί

(<sup>53</sup>) Cf. DIBELIUS, *James*, 11, who says that parenetic literature is distinguished by "repetition of identical motifs in different places within a writing".

(<sup>54</sup>) HORT, *James*, 98, says that the aorist imperative has "the force of a call out of a degenerate state, and it is repeated in nine succeeding verbs"; *contra* MARTIN, *James*, 152, who says that the aorists imply urgency and show a "staccato burst of rapid commands"; and DAVIDS, *James*, 167, who uses the aorist as evidence that repentance needs to begin. See PORTER, *Verbal Aspect*, 335ff., on the tense forms in relation to commanding and prohibiting. Some commentators note the following future form linked by καὶ, and interpret it as a conditional-like construction, along the lines of John 2,19: "If you oppose the devil, he will flee from you". On this kind of construction see PORTER, *Verbal Aspect*, esp. 352-353.

(<sup>55</sup>) ADAMSON, *James*, 74, notes that only here in the NT (except Heb 7,19) is ἐγγίζω used of humans approaching God.

(<sup>56</sup>) See MARTIN, *James*, 152.

(<sup>57</sup>) See MARTIN, *James*, 153-154.

(<sup>58</sup>) A distinction cannot be made, since the forms are identical with this class of noun.

used earlier in v. 8 parallel with δῖψυχοι, implying those who are unbelievers<sup>(59)</sup>. Moo points out that "The two commands in verse 8b are formulated in a perfectly balanced parallelism, the imperative in each clause being followed by its object", with a pejorative word being used to address certain readers<sup>(60)</sup>.

Thus the author of James uses δῖψυχος in two ways, with reference to those who may be divided in their belief about God's faithfulness to answer a prayer for wisdom, and to those who have succumbed to the wiles of the tempter and are divided in their allegiance and hence seen and addressed as sinners. Is there the implication that to persist in divided perception of God's ability to answer a prayer for wisdom may call for the need to repent? There may be, although James does not explicitly say so. James, therefore, uses δῖψυχος twice, each with a specific sense which both contributes to the context and is in harmony with the tenor of its discussion<sup>(61)</sup>.

### III. Δῖψυχος in the Greek Church Writers

With this brief exposition of the biblical text in mind, it is instructive to turn to later Christian writers who utilize δῖψυχος as well. δῖψυχος and its cognates appear approximately 110 times in later writers, all of them Christian, ranging from the late 1st century *1 Clement* to 12th century Eustathius<sup>(62)</sup>. It is not recorded as

<sup>(59)</sup> DIBELIUS, *James*, 227.

<sup>(60)</sup> MOO, *James*, 148, although Moo believes that the pejorative word of address is to the readers of the epistle in general, as believers.

<sup>(61)</sup> See ADAMSON, *James*, 88-99, whose plan of two major sections to the book is at least in part confirmed by this analysis; *contra* J. W. WELCH, "Chiasmus in the NT", *Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis* (ed. J. W. WELCH) (Hildesheim 1981) 212.

<sup>(62)</sup> To summarize: the adjective is found 40 times with such forms as the nominative and vocative singular, and nominative, genitive, dative and accusative plural forms. The noun is found 40 times with such forms as the nominative, genitive, dative and accusative singular and nominative, genitive and accusative plural forms. The verb tenses represented include seven examples of the aorist active indicative, with 2nd person plural and 3rd person singular and plural forms; one example of the aorist active infinitive; two examples of the aorist active participle, with masculine nominative and dative plural forms; and 14 examples of the aorist active subjunctive, including 1st and 2nd person singular and 2nd and 3rd person plural forms. The present tense is represented by one example of the present active



appearing in any papyri to which the Ibycus system currently has access. Apart from dating and various theories of dependence regarding many of these early Christian writings (which are noted only as necessary below), a significant reason for seeing all of the later writers as drawing either directly or indirectly upon James in their use of *δίψυχος* and its cognates is the senses in which it is used. As seen above, James defines *δίψυχος* in two fairly specific though related ways, as would be appropriate for a writer who is using a word for the first time, i.e. to convey a specific sense in a given context. Later writers are frequently less precise in the sense they give the word, often apparently conflating these two uses, as reflected in verbal and conceptual parallels. This may well indicate not that they and James share a common source, but that they are drawing upon James and often assuming, expanding or elucidating his usage<sup>(63)</sup>.

There is one supposed use of *δίψυχος* in extra-Christian literature, where Philo, *Fragment II*, 663 (Mangey) has a title *περὶ δειλῶν καὶ διψύχων*, but the term itself does not appear in the actual fragment. John Damascene apparently prefixed this title, since he quoted part of the fragment in one of his own works, prefaced by a title with *δίψυχος*<sup>(64)</sup>.

It is difficult to know the proper way to proceed with discussing the uses of *δίψυχος* in the extra-biblical Christian literature. Probably the best means is to proceed roughly chronologically in order to give a sense of the development of usage (in the following discussion cognate forms found in Jas 1,5-8 and 4,7-10 are italicized to ease comparison).

#### 1. *1 Clement* (see above also)

In his text of the late 1st century (c. AD 95), Clement of Rome in *1 Clem.* 11.2 says of Lot's wife, *ἑτερογνώμονος ὑπαρχούσης καὶ*

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indicative 2nd person singular; three examples of the present active participle nominative plural; and two examples of the present active subjunctive 1st person plural. The future active indicative 2nd person singular is found four times.

<sup>(63)</sup> Cf. HORT, *James*, 12, who contends that the later writers drew upon James.

<sup>(64)</sup> SEITZ, "Antecedents", 218-219, gives a plausible account of how this might have come about.

οὐκ ἐν ὁμοιοῖα, and her becoming a pillar of salt stands as a lesson ὅτι οἱ διψυχοὶ καὶ οἱ διστάζοντες περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς κρίμα καὶ εἰς σημειώσιν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς γίνονται. Whereas the language does not extensively parallel the biblical material, and direct dependence in this passage is difficult to establish, the conceptual framework is clearly similar to that of Jas 1,8 in two ways: an example is used, and a theoretical application is made. See also *1 Clem.* 23.2-3 cited above, where διστάζοντες is used, with the recognition that διστάζοντες and διακρινόμενος are partial synonyms. It has already been noted above that there is a large probability that *1 Clement* draws upon James.

## 2. *2 Clement*

In a text from the 2nd century AD, *2 Clem.* 19.2 says: οὐ γινώσκωμεν διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς στήθεσιν ἡμῶν, where the conceptual background appears to be James 4, since the previous section (18) uses such words as πανθαμαρτωλός, πειρασμός, διάβολος, ἐγγύς, and section 19 such words as θεός and καρδιά, although Clement addresses the readers as “brothers and sisters”. There is the possibility of influence of James 1, with αἰτέω reminiscent of Jas 1,5 and 6. See also *2 Clem.* 11.2,5, cited above.

## 3. *Didache* and *Barnabas*

The early to mid-2nd century *Didache* has a single instance of διψυχ- in 4.4: οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ, reflected also in its near contemporary *Barn.* 19.5: οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ, although note the change from negated future to emphatically negated aorist subjunctive verb form<sup>(65)</sup>. These are often referred to as part of the “two ways” passages<sup>(66)</sup>, on which much has been written, especially with regard to date and provenance<sup>(67)</sup>. It is

<sup>(65)</sup> H. WINDISCH, *Der Barnabasbrief* (HNT: Die Apostolischen Väter 3; Tübingen 1920) 399, sees the two as equivalent; cf. PORTER, *Verbal Aspect*, 335-360, 419-420.

<sup>(66)</sup> M. DIBELIUS, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (HNT: Die Apostolischen Väter 4; Tübingen 1923) 530, believes that the ideas here are a little later than those in *Shepherd of Hermas* (see below).

<sup>(67)</sup> See e.g. R.A. KRAFT, *Barnabas and the Didache*, vol.3 of *The Apostolic Fathers* (New York 1965) 4-12, 42-43, 45-56, 76-77; L.W.

beyond the scope of this analysis to enter into discussion of whether the two ways passages are dependent upon earlier Jewish-Christian writings, and whether *Didache* or *Barnabas* knows the other, apart from noting use of διψυχ- (if the thesis of this paper is upheld, at least one word is from an earlier source, James). Although the verbal parallels with James are perhaps scantiest here (at least in part because of the scanty context), and whereas it cannot be established from this passage that *Didache* is directly dependent upon James, it remains that James is an earlier attested usage of διψυχος. But another factor is worth considering. Above it was noted that the uses of διψυχος in Jas 1,8 and 4,8 are distinct and fairly specific, what one might expect if a word were being coined for the occasion. But the usages of διψυχος in *Did.* 4.4 and *Barn.* 19.5 are noteworthy for their ambiguity. In context they may refer to double-mindedness with respect to human doubting in prayer or with respect to divine sufficiency, perhaps in judgment. Both senses fit the contexts in which the words appear, in which ethical exhortations (e.g. honoring the saints, being an advocate for peace, not distinguishing among people when correcting them, not being proud, not committing immoral acts, etc.) are made regarding human behavior, but in light of divine presence (e.g. loving and glorifying God as creator, honoring the Lord, etc.)<sup>(68)</sup>. This usage is not what one might expect if the instances here reflect a specific ethical source earlier than James but is very close to a conceptual conflation of the two senses found in James. Considering the generally agreed-upon 2nd century date for the final redaction of *Didache* and *Barnabas*, above, there is increased possibility that they or their source is drawing this lexical item from James and conflating the uses.

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BARNARD, "The Epistle of Barnabas and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Observations", *SJT* 13 (1960) 52-53; W. JAEGER, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, MA 1961) 8-9; cf. SCHOEDEL, "Apostolic Fathers", 467, 468 for bibliography.

<sup>(68)</sup> See J.-P. AUDET, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres* (ÉB; Paris 1958) 329-330; J. A. KLEIST, trans., *The Didache, The Epistle of Barnabas, The Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, The Fragments of Papias, The Epistle to Diognetus* (ACW 6; London 1948) 156, n. 31, 182, n. 179.

#### 4. *Shepherd of Hermas*

The early to mid-2nd century *Shepherd of Hermas*<sup>(69)</sup> has the largest number of occurrences of δίψυχος and its cognates, and has aroused the most interest of all of the extra-biblical writers, apart from possibly 1 and 2 *Clement*. It is argued below that whereas a number of specific uses do not have exact verbal parallels in James (although throughout the work is heavily influenced by biblical language), there is a sufficient number of cases which draw upon the language and wording of James to make it a reasonable assumption that *Shepherd of Hermas* is directly dependent upon James for introducing δίψυχος and its cognates into the work<sup>(70)</sup>.

In 6.4 and 6.7, the introductory portion, where Hermas's family is condemned and promised forgiveness if they repent<sup>(71)</sup>, concepts reflecting the tone and even some of the language of James 4 occur: ἐὰν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας μετανοήσουσιν καὶ ἄρῳσιν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τὰς διψυχίας .... ἐμμείνατε οὖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ μὴ διψυχήσητε, ἵνα γένηται ὑμῶν ἡ πάροδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων, where the repeated use of καρδία and reference to ἡ πάροδος are significant. μετανοέω is not found in James 4, although repentance is surely implied and even referred to using other language (e.g. ταλαιπωρήσατε, πενθήσατε, κλαύσατε). 10.2 reads: καθαρισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστερημάτων σου· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ μὴ διψυχοῦντες καθαρισθήσονται ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, where purification language similar to James 4 is evident. 11.4, after words about revelation, says: μόνον ἡ καρδία σου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἦτω καὶ μὴ διψυχήσεις ὃ ἂν ἴδῃς, where there is use of καρδία and θεός, as in James 4. Can it

<sup>(69)</sup> On date see G. F. SNYDER, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, vol. 6 of *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary* (London 1968) 22-24; cf. SCHOEDEL, "Apostolic Fathers", 470 for bibliography.

<sup>(70)</sup> In favor see HORT, *James*, 12; MAYOR, *James*, 42; ADAMSON, *Epistle*, 60 (but cf. idem, *James*, 72); contra DIBELIUS, *James*, 31-32; ROPES, *James*, 89-90; SEITZ, "Relationship"; idem, "Antecedents". Commenting upon the entire book, R. VAN DEEMTER, *Der Hirt des Hermas: Apokalypse oder Allegorie?* (Delft 1929) 93-94, cf. 96-98, states: "Auch der Einfluss des N. T. besonders des Jakobusbriefes ist deutlich"; cf. also T. ZAHN, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Gotha 1868) 396-409. It is often claimed that portions of *Shepherd of Hermas* are pre-Christian. Regardless of possible antecedents, the portions which draw upon δίψυχος terminology have apparently undergone a Christian redaction in light of James.

<sup>(71)</sup> See SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 35.

merely be a coincidence that ἦτω is used only here in *Shepherd of Hermas* and Jas 5,12 and 1 Cor 16,22 in the NT? And 12.3 similarly says: ἀλλ' ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, σοὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους, τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, where διαλογιζομένους is synonymous with διακρινόμενος.

In 15.1 language regarding double-mindedness is equated with a road: οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μέν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν· δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίονα ὁδὸν δύνασθαι εὑρεῖν, πλανῶνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀνοδίαις, with use of ταλαιπωροῦσιν, similar to Jas 4,9, as well as other shared vocabulary. 18.9 states: ἀλλ' αἱ διψυχίαι ὑμῶν ἀσυνέτους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσιν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, which is very similar conceptually to Jas 4,10: ταπεινώθητε ἐνώπιον κυρίου, besides using καρδιά. In response to his question following on from the quotation above, *Hermas* is told in 19.2: ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἤδη μεμαραμμένον καὶ μὴ ἔχον δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν μαλακίων ὑμῶν καὶ διψυχίων. 22.4 uses forms of διψυχ twice: μὴ διψυχήσεις, Ἑρμᾶ. ἐν ἑμαυτῷ ἠρξάμην διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· ἐγὼ τί ἔχω διψυχήσαι, οὕτω τεθεμελιωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἰδὼν ἔνδοξα πράγματα; where *Shepherd of Hermas* has κύριος and διαλογίζομαι, besides the negated future used as a command and catenative constructions with ἄρχομαι and ἔχω<sup>(72)</sup>. 23.4 reads: μεγάλην θλίψιν ἐκπέφευγας διὰ τὴν πίστιν σου, καὶ ὅτι τηλικούτο θηρίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐδιψύχησας, following a context which talks of fleeing the lady, casting oneself upon God and opening one's heart to the Lord, preceding a context with similar language regarding repenting with one's whole heart to the Lord and making one's heart pure and spotless<sup>(73)</sup>. The section (23.6) concludes with direct address: πιστεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ δίψυχοι,... ἐξαποστέλλει μᾶστιγας ὑμῖν τοῖς διψύχοις, where the nominative/vocative form is used in a plea to the double-minded for

(72) On catenative constructions see PORTER, *Verbal Aspect*, appendix 10B.

(73) SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 58, is right in questioning how the "general persecution could affect the double minded and not the repentant", and concludes that the author does not state the answer, "since the plagues are a threat more than a reality". On the great tribulation see R.J. BAUCKHAM, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas", *JTS NS* 25 (1974) 27-40.

consistent faith. As Bauckham states, "It may be noted that in Vision IV [sections 22-24] δίψυχος is closer to its meaning in Jas 1,8 and in the prophetic sayings quoted in 1 Clem. 23.2 and 2 Clem. 11.2 than is usual in Hermas: the danger is of becoming doubleminded, i.e. of wavering in faith under threat of persecution" (74). 34.1 says: ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς ἀποκένους καὶ διψύχους ὄντας, where Hermas expresses concern regarding ὀξύχολία (cf. 34.7), apparently equating τοὺς ἀποκένους and διψύχους (75).

Section 39 is an extended warning against double-mindedness. As Dibelius says, "Hermas has here quite unambiguously connected faith and doubt with the granting of petitions made in prayer", an idea probably based upon James 1 (76). As mentioned above, Seitz believes that the usage of δίψυχος and its cognates in this section shows distinct similarities to usage in 1 and 2 Clement, and thus points to a common source other than James, possibly in Jewish literature. In light of what has been said above and analysis of the evidence presented, the lines of connection can be read another way. Examination of the passages themselves shows a surprising verbal correspondence with James 1 and 4, as well as the supposed quotations in 1 and 2 Clement. As Dibelius also says, "this passage in *Herm. mand.* 9 provides the best commentary on [Jas 1,6], especially on the synonymous phrases 'in faith' (ἐν πίστει) and 'with no doubting' (μηδὲν διακρινόμενος)" (77).

(74) BAUCKHAM, "Great Tribulation", 32.

(75) See SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 74.

(76) DIBELIUS, *James*, 80. Cf. SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 82, 83, who in distinguishing Hermas's use from that of other literature reflecting the "two ways" states that in *Shepherd of Hermas* the divided person is not "the one who doubts the power of God", but the "condition of man caught between the spirits. The double minded are neither alive nor dead .... Even worse are the double minded who play on the two spirits by repenting while assuming they can sin and repent again .... So the author has used a term common to the Jewish-Christian homily, but has adapted it (though not always) as the key problem of man in the Two Spirit anthropology". Dependence upon language of James is still apparent, however.

(77) DIBELIUS, *James*, 79-80. DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 528-529, observes that the earliest commentators on James all use *Shepherd of Hermas* 39 to clarify Jas 1,7-8. Even though there are clear similarities and shared parenetic tradition, "so kann die Hypothese Herm. habe Jac benutzt (oder umgekehrt) doch nicht als ausreichend gesichert gelten" (529). Cf. ZAHN, *Hirt*, 396-404, who analyzes the evidence differently.

39.1 opens the section with a surprisingly clear echo of James 1: ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως διψυχῆσης αἰτήσασθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγων ἐν σεαυτῷ ὅτι πῶς δύναμαι αἰτήσασθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβεῖν, ἡμαρτηκῶς τοσαῦτα εἰς αὐτόν; as if the author is posing a logical question which might arise in the mind of any reader of Jas 1,5-8. He goes on to answer his own question, however, by speaking of not questioning when praying, but purifying one’s heart. As Dibelius says, “Glaube zeigt sich vor allem in der Gewissheit der Gebetserhörung”<sup>(78)</sup>. 39.5 continues: οἱ γὰρ διστάζοντες<sup>(79)</sup> εἰς τὸν θεόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν<sup>(80)</sup>. 6 δὲ ὁλοτελεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει πάντα αἰτοῦνται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ λαμβάνουσιν, ὅτι ἀδιστάκτως αἰτοῦνται, μηδὲν διψυχοῦντες. πᾶς γὰρ δίψυχος ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃ<sup>(81)</sup>, δυσκόλως σωθήσεται<sup>(82)</sup>. 7 καθάρισον οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας, ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν πίστιν, ὅτι ἰσχυρά ἐστι, καὶ πιστεῦε τῷ θεῷ ὅτι πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου ἂ αἰτεῖς λήψῃ. καὶ ἐὰν αἰτησάμενός ποτε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου αἰτημά τι βραδύτερον λαμβάνῃς, μὴ διψυχῆσης ὅτι ταχὺ οὐκ ἔλαβες τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου.... 8 σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς αἰτούμενος τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψῃ αὐτό. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκακῆσης καὶ διψυχῆσης<sup>(83)</sup> αἰτούμενος<sup>(84)</sup>, σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ καὶ μὴ τὸν διδόντα σοι. 9 βλέπε τὴν διψυχίαν ταύτην.... καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διψυχία θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ λίαν πονηρεύεται εἰς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. 10 καταφρόνησον οὖν τῆς διψυχίας καὶ κατακυριεύσον αὐτῆς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι.... ἡ δὲ διψυχία μὴ καταπιστεύουσα ἑαυτῇ πάντων

<sup>(78)</sup> DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 529.

<sup>(79)</sup> It has been pointed out above that διστάζοντες is often used synonymously with διακρινόμενος. See 39.6 also.

<sup>(80)</sup> At this point *Shepherd of Hermas* appears to be borrowing directly from *1 Clem.* 11.2 (see above), as SEITZ, “Relationship”, 136-137, claims.

<sup>(81)</sup> It has been pointed out above that the concept of repentance is clearly mentioned in James 4, although μετανοέω is not used.

<sup>(82)</sup> As DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 530, indicates, “Die ihr Gebet mit Bedenken belasten, werden hier mit den δίψυχοι im allgemeinen identifiziert, ebenso die zuversichtlichen Beter mit den ὁλοτελεῖς ἐν πίστει”.

<sup>(83)</sup> In this context ἐκκακῆσης and διψυχῆσης are used synonymously.

<sup>(84)</sup> As DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 530-531, posits, “Wenn aber der Erfolg gänzlich ausbleibt, so hat das der Beter den Mängeln seines Betens zuzuschreiben, dem ἐκκακεῖν oder διψυχεῖν; mit beiden Verben ist wohl im wesentlichen dasselbe gemeint”.

ἀποτυγχάνει τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς ὧν πράσσει. 11 ... ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, δύναμιν μὴ ἔχουσα. 12... καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας ἀποσχοῦ τῆς μὴ ἐχούσης δύναμιν, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ.... This appears to be either a direct commentary upon James 1 and 4, or at least a discussion of the concept of double-mindedness with reference to the power of God in answering one's requests, drawing heavily and freely upon James. Noticeable is the presence of virtually every significant word from James 1 and 4 used in conjunction with cognates of διψυχος: e.g. αἰτέω (10 times in various forms), the phrase διψυχος ἀνὴρ (note that word order is changed, possibly because of use of πᾶς, although possibly because the author was conscious of drawing upon διψυχος terminology), κύριος, λαμβάνω (3 times in various forms, including the future form, regarding what one can expect from one's prayers), πίστις (as opposed to διψυχία)<sup>(85)</sup>, θεός, καθαρίζω, καρδία, δίδωμι (with God as the "giver"), and διάβολος.

Section 40 begins similarly to 39, with 40.1 reading: ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, φησί, τὴν λύπην· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἀδελφή ἐστι τῆς διψυχίας καὶ τῆς ὀξυχολίας, where the author now plays on another word<sup>(86)</sup>. It is interesting that διψυχία is part of that wordplay. As Snyder says, "if double-mindedness is doubt about the power of God, then grief is a sister of *dipsychia* because it confirms and deepens the doubt (41.2). But for the theologian (40.4-6) there is another meaning. In the Two Spirit structure grief is beneficial to the *dipsychos* because it calls attention to the man's condition and he repents"<sup>(87)</sup>. Section 41.2 begins: ὅταν ὁ διψυχος ἐπιβάλῃται πρᾶξιν τινα, καὶ ταύτης ἀποτύχῃ διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν αὐτοῦ, ἡ λύπη αὕτη εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, where a clear relationship between the double-minded person and double-mindedness is seen. 41.4 continues: ἡ μὲν διψυχία, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέτυχε τῆς πράξεως αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅτι ἔπραξε τὸ πονηρόν. ἀμφοτέρα οὖν λυπηρά ἐστι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἡ διψυχία καὶ ἡ ὀξυχολία. As Snyder says, "The double-minded man who grieves not only

<sup>(85)</sup> See DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 531.

<sup>(86)</sup> Cf. C. H. TURNER, "The *Shepherd* of Hermas and the Problem of its Text", *JTS* 21 (1920) 196: "The two most individual characteristics of the ethical teaching of Hermas are, on the one hand the value which he sets on cheerfulness and a single mind, with his corresponding horror of διψυχία and λύπη...". Cf. DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 531.

<sup>(87)</sup> SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 84,85. *Contra* DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 532, who claims that the linkage of ὀξυχολία, διψυχία and λύπη is extra-Christian.



confirms his doubt, but loses his ability to pray and confess (vs. 2)"<sup>(88)</sup>, reflecting a theme found in James 1.

In 43.1-2, it is said that the false prophet destroys the mind of the faithful: τῶν διψύχων δὲ ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐ τῶν πιστῶν. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ δίψυχοι ὥς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτόν, where the opposition between the double-minded and the faithful is a natural opposition established by James 1, although applied differently here<sup>(89)</sup>. 43.4 continues the discussion: ὅσοι δὲ δίψυχοί εἰσι καὶ πυκνῶς μετανοοῦσι, μαντεύονται ὥς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, with double-mindedness and repentance equated, perhaps drawing on the kind of appeal which James 4 makes<sup>(90)</sup>. 43.13: the prophet κολλᾶται δὲ τοῖς διψύχοις καὶ κενοῖς, on which Snyder says, "A major mark of the double minded or unrepentant is his lack of contact with the congregation (75.1-4; see 26.2)"<sup>(91)</sup>. Would this be the next stage for the unrepentant of James 4? The similarities suggest that the author of *Shepherd of Hermas* sees it this way.

In 47.2 the author says: ἄφρον, ἀσύνετε καὶ δίψυχε, οὐ νοεῖς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ; 50.3: ἄφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε ἄνθρωπε. These are the only two extant instances of the vocative singular of δίψυχος, but they are significant in their linkage of double-mindedness with lack of understanding and sorrow.

In 61.2 the *Shepherd of Hermas* asks: τί διψυχεῖς περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ὧν σοι ἐντέταλμαι; καλαί εἰσιν· ὅλως μὴδὲν διψυχῆσης, ἀλλ' ἐνδύσαι τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου, where double-mindedness is opposed to faith in the Lord, an opposition James 1 makes<sup>(92)</sup>. In 73.1-2 the double-minded are characterized: ὅσων ἦσαν αἱ ῥάβδοι ἡμίξηροι, δίψυχοί εἰσιν.... οἱ δὲ ἡμιξήρους ἔχοντες καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμάς, οὗτοι καὶ δίψυχοι εἰσιν καὶ κατάλαλοι, μὴδέποτε εἰρηνεύοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ διχοστατοῦντες πάντοτε, where διχοστατοῦντες is synonymous with δίψυχοι. 74.3,5: πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν.... τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ ἐδιχοστάτησαν, where a similar synonymy as in 73 is to be noted. 75.4: ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ

<sup>(88)</sup> SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 85.

<sup>(89)</sup> Cf. DIBELIUS, *Hirt*, 536, who notes two senses of πιστοί, the followers of the prophet and the believers.

<sup>(90)</sup> On the author's particular view of repentance see SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 87. As noted above, the concept of repentance is important in James 4, even though a form of μετανοέω is not used.

<sup>(91)</sup> SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 88.

<sup>(92)</sup> Cf. SNYDER, *Shepherd*, 110, who notes a change in tone with section 61, from exhortation to assessment.

αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν μὴ ἐλπίζοντες σωθῆναι διὰ τὰς πράξεις ὡς ἔπραξαν· ἕτεροι δὲ ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ σχίσματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαντο. τοῦτοις οὖν τοῖς διψυχήσασιν διὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν μετάνοια ἔτι ἐστίν, where the author includes the possibility of repentance for those who are double-minded, a different view of double-mindedness than suggested elsewhere. 76.2: τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν, τινὲς δὲ διψυχήσαντες διχοστασίας μερίζοντας ἐποίησαν, where it appears that the chance of repentance is much less (note the use of the aorist participle followed by the aorist finite verb). In 77.3, after speaking of repenting with their whole heart and purifying themselves from all evil, so that they will receive healing from the Lord (all language noted elsewhere in discussing *Shepherd of Hermas* as directly reflecting language in James 1 and 4), the author states: ἐὰν μὴ διψυχήσωσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ταύταις, καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ, reminiscent of *Shepherd of Hermas* 39.12.

95.3: οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τὸ καθαρισθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποβληθῆναι τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ὑποκριτὰς καὶ βλασφήμους καὶ διψύχους καὶ πονηρευομένους ποικίλαις πονηρίαις, where for the first time in *Shepherd of Hermas* the double-minded are so strongly characterized, although in light of use of forms of καθαρίζω in the immediately preceding verses, influence of James 4 seems present. 98.1,2-3: οἱ μὲν δίψυχοι, οἱ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλη, ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες, where the influence of James 4 is clear, although the author of *Shepherd of Hermas* has made it memorably aphoristic; ὅμοιοι οὖν εἰσὶ τοῖς διψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ οἱ δίψυχοι οὔτε χλωροὶ εἰσιν οὔτε ξηροί· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐταὶ αἱ βοτάναι ἥλιον ἰδοῦσαι ἐξηράνθησαν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅταν θλίψιν ἀκούσωσι, where Jas 1,11 seems to be drawn upon for the example from nature.

##### 5. Clement of Alexandria

Clement of Alexandria (2/3rd century AD) uses διψύχους once, apparently quoting *Shepherd of Hermas* 12.3 (see above), at *Stromata* 1.29.181.1.

##### 6. Origen

Origen (2/3rd century AD) uses δίψυχος and its cognates several times. In *De principiis* 4.1.7.2 (*Philocalia* 1.7.2), he contrasts double-mindedness with devotion of the soul to the words of God: ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν ὁ ἀμφιβάλλων πληχθεῖς ὡς ἐνθέων, διψυχίαν πᾶσαν καὶ περισπασμὸν ἀποθέμενος, ὅλη ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῷ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῖς λόγοις

τοῦ θεοῦ, with διψυχίαν and περισπασμόν used synonymously. In *Fragmenta ... Corinthios*, in commenting upon 1 Cor 16,13, Origen states regarding στήκετε: μὴ σαλεύεσθε ἀλλὰ βέβαιοι γίνεσθε. ὁ δίψυχος οὐχ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ πίστει ἢ ὁ ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πίστιν πραγμάτων. In *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1-150* 77.19-25.127 and *Excerpta in Psalmos 1* 17.145 he equates every sort of evil disease with double-mindedness: πᾶσι κακοῖς διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν αὐτῶν. And in *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1-150* 67.7 Origen speaks of those who give up their living dwelling, πάσης διψυχίας καὶ κοσμηκῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀλλοτριώσαντες. In *Expositio in Proverbia* 17.240 Origen denies double-mindedness: ὅπου δὲ οὐκ ἔστι δίθυμος, τουτέστι δίψυχος, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ θεῷ, ἢ τῷ μαμμωνᾷ, where he defines δίθυμος using δίψυχος. *Dialogus cum Heraclide* 6 states: πλὴν μέντοι ἵνα μὴ δισταχθεῖς ὅλως καὶ διψυχῇσω περὶ τινος πυνθάνομαι, where δισταχθεῖς is apparently equated with διψυχῇσω, although use of ὅλως may indicate a degree of difference. *Exhortatio ad martyrium* 11: μολύνειν ἡμᾶς διαλογισμοῖς πονηροῖς θέλοντι ἀρνήσεως ἢ διψυχίας ἢ τινος πιθανότητος προκαλουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ καὶ τῇ τελειότητι. In *In Jeremiam* 14.8 Origen does a bit of theologizing: δύο πάσχει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν ἀνθρώποις· ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀπίστων καταδικάζεται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν διψύχων διακρίνεται. Although Origen does not show clear dependence upon James, and even evidences independent-mindedness, his commentary on the biblical text points to indirect influence of James.

### 7. Ignatius

Ignatius (3rd century AD) in *Epistulae Spuriae* 10.7.1 reads: μέμνησο τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις ποτέ. μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου· μακάριος γὰρ ὁ μὴ διστάσας. πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κτλ. This spurious text uses δίψυχος in conformity with usage in Jas 1,8, reinforced by the use of διστάσας, a likely synonym of διακρινόμενος, although this text appears faintly reminiscent of 1 Clem. 23 and 2 Clem. 11 as well<sup>(93)</sup>.

### 8. Athanasius

Athanasius (4th century AD) uses forms of δίψυχος a number of times, but virtually every use is a quotation or paraphrase of an

<sup>(93)</sup> On the genetic relationship of the spurious to the genuine epistles see H. KOESTER, *Introduction to the NT*, vol. 2: *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Foundations and Facets: NT; Philadelphia 1984) 58.

earlier text, including James 1 and 4, and especially the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Quotation of James 1 includes *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 4.2, although changed to accusative plural; quotation of James 4 includes *Homilia in illud: Euntem autem illo* 2.9; quotation of *Shepherd of Hermas* 34.1 occurs at *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 1.5 and 2.5, with deletion of τοὺς ἀποκένους and the participle ὄντας; of 39.1,5-6,7,8 occurs at *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 1.9, with only minor variations; of 40.1-2; 41.2,4 occurs at *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 1.11; or 39.1,5,6,7,8,9,10 occurs at *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 2.9, with only minor variations; and 40.1,2; 41.2,4 occurs at *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 2.11. The only apparently original use by Athanasius is *Expositiones in Psalmos* 27.457: καὶ προσευχομένων δὲ μετὰ ὀργῆς καὶ διὰ λογισμῶν, ἢ διψυχίας, ἢ προσευχὴ γίνεται εἰς ἀμαρτίαν.

#### 9. John Chrysostom

John Chrysostom (4/5th century AD) in *Expositio in Psalmos* 55.154 quotes Jas 1,7-8, with slight variations.

#### 10. Palladius

Palladius (4/5th century AD) in *Concerning the Nations* Pref. 3 refers to πᾶσαν δὲ διψυχίαν καὶ κιμβικίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις, πάντα τε ὀκνον καὶ μικροψυχίαν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἡθελ; 38.8: ἐδιψύχησε μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκῶς.

#### 11. Eustathius

And lastly, the 12th-century writer Eustathius in his *Commentary on Homer's Iliad and Odyssey* defines διψυχία with apparent reference to *Shepherd of Hermas* (e.g. 74.5; 76.2): ἔτι τὸ ἀμφὶς φρονεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς διθυμῖα, ὃ ἐστὶ διχοστασία, καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, διψυχία.

### IV. Conclusion

In conclusion, there are several observations that may be made in light of analysis of the above evidence. First, once an appropriate definition of a "Christian" word is formulated, it becomes possible to explore with some sense of purpose which words do and do not qualify. I have argued in this paper that δίψυχος along with its cognates is a Christian word, since its apparently earliest and continued attestation is exclusively in biblical and early Christian writers. Two possible objections to this formulation come to mind. The first is that continued access to increasingly large numbers of

papyri and even other literary texts may uncover usage of this term in non-Christian writers. Certainly such a find would be of interest and could potentially overturn the results of this preliminary investigation. If an instance or two were found in a non-Christian writer significantly later than the 2nd century, however, the results would not change appreciably. By the 2nd century, it appears that use of *δίψυχος* and its cognates, if not phenomenally widespread, was significant in a number of writers, opening up the possibility that a later, secular writer was adopting this term from Christian usage. If a huge number of examples and especially of very early examples or even of examples preceding the 1st century were to be uncovered (doubtful though certainly not impossible), the story of *δίψυχος* would need to be rewritten.

The second factor is with regard to the supposed writing referred to in *1* and *2 Clement*. This source is otherwise unknown, despite Lightfoot's hypothesis that it is a quotation from a book known only by four words quoted in the later *Shepherd of Hermas*. Although its relation to James remains unclear, there remains the possibility that this source was itself influenced by James, if it is not a paraphrase of James itself. More to the point, however, is the fact that there is clearly attested usage in the book of James, which almost assuredly precedes use in *1* and especially *2 Clement*. On the basis of what has been indicated above, it can plausibly be argued that all usage is either directly or indirectly derived from its two distinct uses in James, including its being picked up by *1 Clement* and widely promoted by *Shepherd of Hermas*. This applies to *Shepherd of Hermas* section 39 in particular, long observed as containing a number of significant instances of *δίψυχος* and cognates. Even if the working hypothesis of the priority of James is overthrown, such that it is dependent upon *Didache* or *1 Clement*, or if it is clearly proven that James and the earliest Christian writers are dependent upon an earlier common source, the major assertion of this study is not overturned. *δίψυχος* is a Christian word.

But if the supposition that James is the earliest of the extant sources is true (it is significant that apparently the majority of scholars continues to place it earlier than the other works in which *δίψυχος* and its cognates appear, regardless of their exact dating), or even if a revised scenario is adopted, a second and perhaps larger consequence emerges. This study re-opens consideration of the degree of creativity evidenced by early Christian writers. There is an unhealthy trend in some areas of biblical studies to demand clear

antecedents for comprehension of early Christian language or concepts. The possibility that in this instance a biblical or early church writer invented a lexical item to express by using a single form a concept necessary for his argument leaves open the further possibility that this author could do the same thing on other occasions and that other authors could do the same thing as well. At the least it leaves this avenue open for further exploration rather than excluding it a priori. This is not to deny the importance of continued study of the thought-world of the 1st century and the various theological and philosophical influences upon these writers, but this is meant not to preclude appreciation in a given instance of a writer showing a little initiative and not simply being reactive.

And third, this delimitation of standards for determining whether a word is a Christian word is designed as a methodological investigation to promote further precision in the use of categories for discussing biblical vocabulary, and by extension other issues regarding the language found in the Greek NT. The last thirty years should have taught biblical scholars that there is much to be gained from the work and insights of other disciplines, including especially modern linguistics. Rather than simply invoking categories which have a particularly high appeal for historical, traditional or theological reasons, it is necessary not only to continue to investigate the text but to investigate the categories used to talk about the text. The concept of a "Christian" word can be a helpful one, but it — like virtually every category — must be used with appropriate caution. In this instance, however, the evidence as a whole does at this stage of investigation point to *δῆρυχος* being a Christian word, and probably one originating with the book of James as well.

Biola University  
13800 Biola Ave.  
La Mirada, CA 90639  
USA

Stanley E. PORTER

#### SOMMAIRE

Le témoignage constant du grec ancien montre que l'adjectif *δῆρυχος* n'est attesté que chez les écrivains chrétiens. Il apparaît même pour la première fois en Jc 1,8 et 4,8. Pour montrer cela, l'article (1) discute les théories concernant le monde de pensée d'où le terme émergea; (2) il examine ensuite son emploi en Jc 1,8 et 4,8, où l'on peut discerner deux usages connexes mais distincts et souvent combinés par les écrivains postérieurs; (3) il étudie ensuite son usage chez les écrivains chrétiens extra-bibliques et (4) cherche à établir brièvement les implications des résultats pour la lexicographie néotestamentaire.

## Leviathan und die Schiffe in Ps 104,25-26(\*)

### I. Zum Text von Ps 104,26

Nach der detaillierten Schilderung verschiedener Lebensräume und Lebewesen im Landbereich, die in V. 24 mit einem Bewunderungsruf endet, der dem Schöpfergott JHWH attestiert, seine zahlreichen Werke (מעשׂיו) allesamt in Weisheit gemacht (עשה) zu haben, setzt der Verfasser von Ps 104 überraschend neu an, um sich nun dem Meer und darin befindlichen Lebewesen zuzuwenden<sup>(1)</sup>:

- |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| 25 | Da (הַיָּם) ist das Meer, gross und unermesslich weit, | A  |
|    | dort (שָׁם) ist Gewimmel ohne Zahl,                    | B  |
|    | kleine und grosse Lebewesen.                           | C  |
| 26 | Dort (שָׁם) ziehen Schiffe einher, Leviathan,          | B' |
|    | den (הוּא) du gebildet hast, um mit ihm zu spielen.    | A' |

Die Nennung von Schiffen (אֲנִיּוֹת)<sup>(2)</sup> inmitten eines Gewimmels von "Lebewesen" (חַיִּים) hat immer wieder Anstoss erregt, zumal in V. 27 כֻּלָּם all diese und die zuvor im Landbereich genannten Lebewesen zusammenfasst und mit Blick auf ihren Bedarf an Nahrung

(\*) Dominique Barthélemy in Freundschaft und Bewunderung zum 70. Geburtstag.

<sup>(1)</sup> Die etwas ungewöhnliche Gliederung versucht die durch die Struktursignale הַיָּם, שָׁם und das Metrum indizierte konzentrische Struktur der beiden Verse zu visualisieren. Deutlich tritt dabei die Achsenfunktion von C hervor: das "Gewimmel ohne Zahl" (רַמְשׁ) ist mit den "kleinen Lebewesen" (חַיִּים קְטָנִים) zu identifizieren, "grosse Lebewesen" (חַיִּים גְּדוֹלִים) sind Schiffe und Leviathan (vgl. unten Abschnitt VI!). In 11QPs<sup>a</sup> E ii 4-5 fehlt das erste הַיָּם, in V. 25aß steht שָׁמָּה anstatt MT שָׁם (Y. YADIN, «Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)», *Textus* 5 [1966] 1-10, bes. 8 mit Pl. IV). Dem Kopisten muss demnach die hier für V. 25-26 angenommene Introversion entgangen sein, was angesichts des recht flüchtig geschriebenen, u.a. zwei Supralinearrekturen aufweisenden Fragments, das auch sonst reich an Varianten aller Art ist (vgl. Anm. 3-4, 10), nicht erstaunt.

<sup>(2)</sup> Zu hebr. אֲנִיּוֹת vgl. E. STRÖMBERG-KRATZ, *Des Schiffes Weg mitten im Meer*. Beiträge zur Erforschung der nautischen Terminologie des Alten Testaments (ConB.OT 19; Lund 1982) 32-56.

und Atemluft auf dieselbe Stufe existenzieller Abhängigkeit vom Schöpfergott stellt:

- 27 Sie alle warten auf dich,  
dass du ihnen Speise gibst zur rechten Zeit;
- 28 Gibst du ihnen, so lesen sie auf,  
öffnest du deine Hand, so sättigen sie sich mit Gutem;
- 29 verbirgst du dein Antlitz, so erschrecken sie<sup>(3)</sup>,  
nimmst du ihren<sup>(4)</sup> Atem weg, so sterben sie  
und kehren zurück zu ihrem Staub (אֶל-עָפָרָם);
- 30 sendest du deinen Atem aus, werden sie geschaffen,  
und (so) erneuerst du die Fläche des Erdbodens (פְּנֵי אֲדָמָה).

Warten auf Speise, Harren auf Gottes Atem, sterben und neu geschaffen werden — all dies kann doch sinnvollerweise von Schiffen nicht gesagt werden! Mit guten Gründen haben sich die Kommentatoren daran gestossen, dass eine so offensichtliche Kulturrerrungenschaft wie die Schiffe "inhaltlich völlig unpassend"<sup>(5)</sup> unter die Werke des Schöpfergottes gezählt werden sollten. In der Tat scheint angesichts der bekannten Abneigung des Alten Testaments gegen das Meer und die davon ausgehenden Gefahren<sup>(6)</sup> einem israelitisch-judäischen Psalmdichter kaum ein Gedanke ferner liegen zu müssen als der, die Erfindung der Schifffahrt bzw. die Herstellung von Schiffen, dieser ausgesprochenen Prestige-Objekte phönizischer Handelsmacht (vgl. nur Jes 2,16; 33,21; Ez 27), sei ein Werk des Gottes Israels.

Es ist deshalb nicht überraschend, dass zu dieser Stelle Konjekturen vorgeschlagen worden sind, u.a. אֵימֹת 'ēmôt (oder 'ajummôt) "Schrecknisse" von H. Gunkel<sup>(7)</sup>. Sie sind zu Recht nicht rezipiert worden<sup>(8)</sup>: Zwar kann vom Krokodil-Leviathan

<sup>(3)</sup> Fehlt in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> E ii 8 (YADIN, «Another Fragment», 8-9).

<sup>(4)</sup> 11QPs<sup>a</sup> E ii 8 liest רִיחָה "deinen Atem/Geist".

<sup>(5)</sup> So jüngst wieder H. SPIECKERMANN, *Heilsgegenwart*. Eine Theologie der Psalmen (FRLANT 148; Göttingen 1989) 41.

<sup>(6)</sup> Vgl. H. RINGGREN, *TWAT*, III, 645-657, bes. 656; O. KEEL – M. KÜCHLER, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*. Bd. 2: Der Süden (Zürich-Göttingen 1982) 1-5.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen 1921) 57.

<sup>(8)</sup> Vgl. als nennenswerte Ausnahmen aber BHK ad loc.; A. WEISER, *Die Psalmen*. II. Teil: Psalm 61-150 (ATD 15; Göttingen 1950) 440, 443 ("Seeungeheuer"); O. KAISER, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW 78; Berlin 1959) 149; HALAT, I, 40: "Schreckgebilde (Meerfauna)".



durchaus Schrecken (אימת) ausgehen (Ijob 41,6), aber gerade nicht vom Leviathan, wie ihn Ps 104,26 schildert. Ausserdem bezeichnet der Intensivplural אימה spezifisch den Todesschrecken und kommt sonst im Zusammenhang von Klagen des Einzelnen vor (Ps 55,5; vgl. Sir 40,5; Ps 88,16; Ijob 20,25)<sup>(9)</sup>, also in Texten, die in denkbar grösstem Gegensatz zu Ps 104 stehen.

Die arbiträre Freihändigkeit der Konjekturen kontrastiert auffällig mit der Sorgfalt, mit der die antiken Versionen an ihrer Vorlage festgehalten haben<sup>(10)</sup>. Aber nicht dies dürfte der Grund dafür sein, dass Gunkels Konjektur von anderen Exegeten nicht übernommen worden ist, vielmehr der Umstand, dass im sog. Grossen Aton-Hymnus Echnatons gerade für die Schiffs-Passage eine klare Parallele vorzuliegen scheint.

## II. Parallelen zu Ps 104 im Grossen Aton-Hymnus?

In der Regel werden zwischen Ps 104 und dem um 1340a entstandenen, im Grab des Aja in el-Amarna aufgezeichneten Hymnus (fortan: GAH)<sup>(11)</sup> etwa folgende Parallelen registriert<sup>(12)</sup>:

GAH	Ps 104	
A 33-34	20-22	Raubtiere in der Nacht
B 42-45	23	Aufstehen der Menschen zur Arbeit am Tag
C 53-58	25-26	Schiffe auf Fluss bzw. Meer
D 76-77	24	Bewunderungsruf
E 85-86	27-28	Gott versorgt nach Bedarf
F 97-99	10-12	Bäche von den Hügeln
G 125-128	29-30a	Schöpfung und Tod.

<sup>(9)</sup> Vgl. H.-J. ZOBEL, *TWAT*, I, 235-238.

<sup>(10)</sup> Beachte allerdings, dass im Cod. Vaticanus gr. 1209 der ganze V. 26 fehlt!

<sup>(11)</sup> Text: N. de G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*. Pt. VI: Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Aÿ (ASE XVIII; London 1908) Pl. 27; M. SANDMAN, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (BAeg VIII; Bruxelles 1938) 93-96; Übersetzung z.B. bei J. ASSMANN, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich-München 1975 [= fortan: *ÄHG*]) Nr. 92. Für die Zeilenzählung folge ich der Textgliederung bei Assmann.

<sup>(12)</sup> Vgl. A. M. BLACKMAN, «The Psalms in the Light of Egyptian Research», *The Psalmists* (ed. D. C. SIMPSON) (Oxford 1926), 177-197; G. NAGEL, «A propos des rapports du Psaume 104 avec les textes égyptiens», *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (Tübingen 1950) 395-403; A. BARUCQ, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Égypte* (BEt

Wie die Aufstellung zeigt, beschränkt sich die Verwandtschaft nicht nur auf einzelne Motive, auch die Reihenfolge der Motive stimmt einigermassen überein, sieht man vom Bewunderungsruf (D) und der Erwähnung der Bäche (F) ab, die in den beiden Kompositionen an je anderer Position stehen. Gerade diese beiden verschieden plazierten 'Parallelen' bieten die am wenigsten spezifischen Berührungspunkte. Der Bewunderungsruf GAH 76-77:

Wie viel ist, was du geschaffen hast,  
indem es dem Angesicht verborgen ist!

unterstreicht — anders als Ps 104,24aa — nicht nur die Vielzahl bzw. Unzählbarkeit der Geschöpfe<sup>(13)</sup>, sondern, sachlich bes. in der zweiten Hälfte an die vorangehende Schilderung des Werdens von Embryo und Fötus im Mutterleib bzw. des Kükens im Ei anschliessend, die geheimnisvolle Verborgenheit elementarster Lebensvorgänge<sup>(14)</sup>. Ihm korrespondiert in GAH 100 ein zweiter Bewunderungsruf:

Wie wirkungsvoll sind deine Pläne,  
du Herr der unendlichen Zeit!

dessen erste Hälfte man ebenso gut zu Ps 104,24ab stellen könnte. Derartige Bewunderungsrufe sind in Hymnen, welche die exemplarische Schilderung der Schöpfung zum Gegenstand haben, naheliegend und in ägyptischen Texten auch anderweitig belegt<sup>(15)</sup>; sie indizieren keine literarische Abhängigkeit, sind in der Regel eng mit ihrem jeweiligen Kontext verknüpft und sollten deshalb allein von daher interpretiert werden.

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XXXIII; Le Caire 1962) 316-322; P. C. CRAIGIE, «The Comparison of Hebrew Poetry: Psalm 104 in the Light of Egyptian and Ugaritic Poetry», *Semitics* 4 (1974) 10-21; P. AUFFRET, *Hymnes d'Égypte et d'Israël. Études de structures littéraires* (OBO 34; Fribourg-Göttingen 1981) 280-302; E. VON NORDHEIM, «Der grosse Hymnus des Echnaton und Ps 104. Gott und Mensch im Ägypten der Amarnazeit und in Israel», *SAK* 7 (1979) 227-251.

<sup>(13)</sup> Anders J. ASSMANN, *Re und Amun. Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (OBO 51; Freiburg Schweiz-Göttingen 1983) 121-122.

<sup>(14)</sup> Die von J. ASSMANN, «Die "Häresie" des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion», *Saeculum* 23 (1972) 109-126, bes. 120-122 (vgl. *Re und Amun*, 103) beschriebene "Vorliebe der Amarnazeit für das Sichtbare" überschreitet hier die Grenzen des empirisch Wahrnehmbaren. Das Motiv der Sorge für das noch ungeborene Leben ist nicht auf Amarna beschränkt; vgl. *ÄHG* Nr. 87 E, 115; 169,20 = A. BARUCQ-F. DAUMAS, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (LAPO 10; Paris 1980 [= fortan: *HPÉA*]) Nr. 69 vi 5; 70,8; *ÄHG* Nr. 101,10.

<sup>(15)</sup> Vgl. neben Ps 92,6 etwa *ÄHG* Nr. 96,32: "Wie verborgen sind deine Werke, obwohl sie vor Augen liegen!"; 97,28: "Wie gross ist alles, was du geschaffen hast!" (beides ramessidische Amun-Re-Hymnen aus Theben).

Was die zweite 'deplazierte' Parallele (F) betrifft, so sind hier die Berührungen wiederum ganz unspezifisch und erklären sich dadurch, dass sowohl der ägyptische Hymnus, der sich ja ausdrücklich auf Regen und Bäche in Syrien-Palästina bezieht, als auch der biblische Psalm den gleichen natürlichen Gegenstand schildern. Zu Ps 104,10-14 liessen sich engere Parallelen aus der mesopotamischen hymnischen Überlieferung zitieren, etwa ein Hymnus an Marduk,

der die Ströme im Innern der Hügel leitet,  
 der die Quellbrunnen öffnet im Innern der Berge,  
 der 'freilässt' Überfluss für sämtliche Wohnstätten,  
 der spriessen lässt (?) die weite Erde mit Getreide,  
 [der sen]det Regen vom Himmelsgewölbe,  
 [...] Winde und Wasserströme auf die Felder (...) <sup>(16)</sup>.

Auch die sog. 'Parallele' (E) erweist sich bei näherem Zusehen als schwach begründet: GAH 85-86 bezieht sich ausschliesslich auf die Versorgung von Menschen (Ägyptern und Fremdvölkern), Ps 104,27-28 dagegen auf die Versorgung aller Geschöpfe, auch der Tiere.

Ein besonderes Problem stellt die 'Parallele' (G). Hinter Ps 104,29-30 hat man ein ägyptisches Motiv erkennen wollen, die Verbindung von Sonnenlicht (> פֶּנִיךְ) und Atemluft (רוּחַ), und zwar in einer Form, wie sie für die Amarnazeit typisch wäre: Im Unterschied zu älteren Hymnen an den Sonnengott Re, die davon ausgehen, dass dieser bei seinem Untergang den "Westlichen" in der Unterwelt Leben bringt, und im Unterschied zu Hymnen an den Schöpfergott Amun(-Re), die ausdrücklich betonen, dass dieser auch während der Nacht für das Wohl seiner Schöpfung sorgt <sup>(17)</sup>, deuten die Amarna-Hymnen die Nacht konsequent als eine Phase der Abwesenheit Gottes, welche Tod, Erstarrung, Unordnung und Blindheit zur Folge hat <sup>(18)</sup>, wobei dieser "Tod" durchaus metaphorisch zu verstehen ist, da die Nacht ja den Raubtieren und stechendem Ungeziefer gehört (GAH

<sup>(16)</sup> W.G. LAMBERT, «Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians», *Afo* 19 (1959-60) 47-66, hier 61 (Marduk No. 2, I 5-10); M.-J. SEUX, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (LAPO 8; Paris 1976) 71. Beachte, dass im akkadischen Text stets partizipiale Formulierungen vorliegen.

<sup>(17)</sup> Vgl. etwa *ÄHG* Nr. 87 E, 123-124 = *HPÉA* Nr. 69 vii 1: "der die Nacht wachend verbringt, wenn alle Welt schläft, und sucht, was seiner Herde wohl tut"; *ÄHG* Nr. 133,8-9 = *HPÉA* Nr. 72, Chap. 20,17-18: "einzig Wachsam, dessen Abscheu der Schlaf ist, jedermann schläft, aber seine Augen wachen".

<sup>(18)</sup> Vgl. ASSMANN, *ÄHG* 59-60 mit Nr. 91,26-29; 92,27-37.120-130; 94,11-16; 95,12. Das Motiv findet sich erstmals im Amun-Hymnus der Baumeister Suti und Hor, der noch in die Zeit Amenophis' III. datiert (vgl. *ÄHG* Nr. 89,29-30 = *HPÉA* Nr. 68,6-8), unmittelbar nach Amarna auf einer wohl aus Saqqara stammenden Stele in Leiden, deren Hymnus an Re-Harachtu adressiert ist (*ÄHG* Nr. 90,12-15), später nicht mehr.

33-34, 'Parallele' A). Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die negative Wertung der Nacht auf den engsten Umkreis von Amarna beschränkt ist<sup>(19)</sup>, scheint Ps 104,29-30 direkt mit der 'Neuen Sonnen-Theologie' Echnatons verbunden werden zu müssen<sup>(20)</sup>.

J. Assmann meint gar "so etwas wie einen 'missing link' zwischen der 'Neuen Sonnen-Theologie' und dem 104. Psalm"<sup>(21)</sup> gefunden zu haben. Im Anschluss an W.F. Albright<sup>(22)</sup> übersetzt er eine sich auf den Sonnengott beziehende Passage aus einem Brief des Königs von Tyrus an Echnaton wie folgt:

EA 147,9 Der Leben gibt durch seinen süßen Odem,  
10 und (es) vermindert, wenn er verborgen ist.

Träfe die Übersetzung zu, könnte man hier wegen der negativen Wertung der Nacht (Verborgenheit des Sonnengottes als Lebensminderung) in Z. 10 in der Tat einen "missing link" zu Ps 104 erkennen<sup>(23)</sup>. Aber C. Grave<sup>(24)</sup> hat Albrights Interpretation des schwierigen *ù i-za/sà-ḥar i-na ṣa-pa-ni-šu* mit guten Gründen widerlegt und als alternative Übersetzung vorgeschlagen:

EA 147,9 Der Leben gibt durch seinen süßen Odem,  
10 und zurückkehrt mit seinem Nordwind.<sup>(25)</sup>

Bei dieser Übersetzung entfällt die negative Wertung der Nacht, damit aber gerade das spezifische Charakteristikum der 'Neuen Sonnen-Theologie'. Dass die theologischen Entwicklungen im amarnazeitlichen Ägypten von den kanaanäischen Kleinkönigen verfolgt wurden und diese sich bemüht haben, den neuen Anforderungen des diplomatischen Protokolls zu entsprechen, ist bekannt. Gerade EA 147 zeigt aber sehr deutlich, dass dieses Protokoll wesentlich mehr Gewicht auf die unumgehbare Mittlerstellung des

<sup>(19)</sup> Aus späteren Hymnen wäre höchstens eine Formulierung wie die folgende vergleichbar: "Es gibt kein Leben für das, was dich nicht sieht" (*ÄHG* Nr. 195,237). BARUCQ-DAUMAS (*HPÉA* Nr. 76 x 8-9) übersetzen allerdings anders: "Il n'y a pas de vivant qui ne te regarde".

<sup>(20)</sup> Vgl. NAGEL, «Rapports», 396, 400; ASSMANN, «Häresie», 121-122; SPIECKERMANN, *Heilsgegenwart*, 43-44 u.v.a.

<sup>(21)</sup> *Re und Amun*, 142 Anm. 199a.

<sup>(22)</sup> «The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki», *JEA* 23 (1937) 190-203, bes. 198.

<sup>(23)</sup> Allerdings nicht um einen solchen zwischen dem Psalm und dem GAH, wo nur von der Beatmung des verborgenen, werdenden Lebens die Rede ist (Z. 64.70), wogegen in der jeweils zu Ps 104,29-30 zitierten 'Parallelstelle' GAH 125-128 das Beatmungsmotiv fehlt!

<sup>(24)</sup> «Northwest Semitic *ṣapānu* in a Break-up of an Egyptian Stereotype Phrase in EA 147», *Or* N.S. 51 (1982) 161-182.

<sup>(25)</sup> Vgl. W.L. MORAN, *Les lettres d'el Amarna*. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon (LAPO 13; Paris 1987) 378-380.

ägyptischen Königs legte als auf letzte Feinheiten in der Rezeption der Aton-Theologie: der diplomatische Brief verwendet die kurze Charakterisierung des Sonnengottes nur zur ausführlicheren Hervorhebung des ägyptischen Königs, der als irdische "Sonne" für seine Untertanen wirkt<sup>(26)</sup>.

Mit dem "missing link" entfällt auch die Notwendigkeit, Ps 104,29-30 von der 'Neuen Sonnen-Theologie' her deuten zu müssen. Man hat ob der vermeintlichen 'Parallele' vielfach übersehen, dass der biblische Psalm gar nicht die ägyptische Verknüpfung von Sonnenlicht und Atemluft voraussetzt. Was aus ägyptologischer Perspektive als nur über Amarna lösbares Problem erscheinen muss, nämlich die Lebensverminderung durch den sich verbergenden Schöpfergott, stellt sich aus der kanaanäisch-biblischen Perspektive mit ihrer 'realistischeren' Einschätzung von Tod und Unterwelt ganz anders dar. Sowohl V.29a ("das Angesicht verbergen") als auch V.29b-30a ("Atem nehmen bzw. aussenden") haben in der alttestamentlichen Überlieferung engere Parallelen als in ägyptischen Hymnen<sup>(27)</sup>, so dass sich die Annahme eines direkten ägyptischen Einflusses, erst recht des GAH<sup>(28)</sup>, auch hier erübrigt.

Mit einer direkten Abhängigkeit des Psalms vom GAH kann nicht gerechnet werden<sup>(29)</sup>. Man wird im GAH relativ enge Parallelen zu Ps 104 zunächst nur in der Sequenz (A-C) (d.h. GAH 33-34.42-45.53-58, Ps 104,20-26) erkennen können. Stellt sich aber die von der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft in regelmässigen Abständen diskutierte Abhängigkeitsfrage<sup>(30)</sup> ohnehin nur für je einen

<sup>(26)</sup> Der Atem des Sonnengottes (Z. 8-12) wird den Untertanen über den belebenden Atem des Königs als der irdischen "Sonne" vermittelt. Texte und Bilder der Amarnazeit weisen übereinstimmend darauf hin, dass diese Mittlerfunktion des Königs unumgebar war und der Kult des Aton offiziell der königlichen Familie reserviert blieb. BLACKMAN, «Psalms», hat die Verwandtschaft von GAH und Ps 104 darauf zurückführen wollen, dass ein dem GAH vergleichbarer Hymnus im Tempelkult von Byblos Verwendung gefunden habe. Aber es dürfte in Kanaan eine direkte, nicht über den König vermittelte Aton-Verehrung nie geben haben.

<sup>(27)</sup> Zu V.29a vgl. etwa Ps 10,11; 13,2; 30,8; 44,25; 69,18; 88,15; 143,7 u.ö.; zu V.29b-30 vgl. Ps 146,4; Ijob 10,12; 12,10 und bes. 34,14-15.

<sup>(28)</sup> Vgl. Anm. 26!

<sup>(29)</sup> J.C. DE MOOR, *The Rise of Yahwism. The Roots of Israelite Monotheism* (BETL XCI; Leuven 1990) 66-67 vermutet, dass Ps 104 auf eine "Canaanite translation" des GAH zurückgehe. Die Hypothese müsste nicht nur die Differenzen bei den 'Parallelstellen', sondern auch die gegenüber dem GAH erheblichen 'Auslassungen' des Psalms erklären und scheint bei genauem Textvergleich unhaltbar.

<sup>(30)</sup> Vgl. zusammenfassend G. RAVASI, *Il libro dei salmi. Commento e attualizzazione*, Vol. III<sup>o</sup> (101-150) (Coll. lettura pastorale della Bibbia 17; Bologna 1988) 93-99 (Lit.); SPIECKERMANN, *Heilsgegenwart*, 38-41, 47-48.

Teilabschnitt der beiden Texte, nämlich GAH 33-58 und Ps 104,20-26, dann spricht dies allein schon klar zumindest für eine phönizisch-kanaanäische Vermittlung der ägyptisierenden Motive<sup>(31)</sup> — wenn nicht sogar für eine ursprüngliche Entstehung des Psalmcorpus (V. 1b-30\*) in phönizisch-kanaanäischem Milieu<sup>(32)</sup>.

Um in dieser Frage einen Schritt weiterzukommen, konzentrieren sich die folgenden Ausführungen auf die Erwähnung der Schiffe in GAH 53-58 und Ps 104,25-26.

### III. GAH 53-58 und Ps 104,25-26

Unter den verschiedenen 'Parallelen' zwischen GAH und Ps 104 ist die Nennung der Schiffe die wohl unbestrittenste<sup>(33)</sup>. Die Übereinstimmung geht in der Tat weit über das hinaus, was vermeintliche ugaritische Parallelen<sup>(34)</sup> zu bieten haben, die sich bei näherer Prüfung als inexistent erweisen<sup>(35)</sup>. Sie kann nach E. von

<sup>(31)</sup> Vgl. NAGEL, «Rapports», 403; H.-J. KRAUS, *Psalmen II* (BK XV/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978) 880, 884-885; SPIECKERMANN, *Heilsgegenwart*, 47, bes. Anm. 64.

<sup>(32)</sup> Da Kanaanäer u.a. als hohe Minister Echnatons bezeugt sind (vgl. W. HELCK, Art. «Dudu», *LÄ*, I, 1151; A. P. ZIVIE, «Une tombe d'époque amarnienne à Saqqarah», *BSFÉ* 84 [1979] 21-32) und der GAH bes. in Z. 83ff (Fremdländer neben Ägypten, jedes an seinem Platz), 87ff (Sprachen und Hautfarbe) und 96ff (Nil am Himmel) eine Offenheit für die spezifische Situation gerade der asiatischen Fremdvölker zeigt, wie sie sonst in der ägyptischen Literatur eher selten begegnet, kann man erwägen, ob angesichts der Verwandtschaft von Ps 104,10-11 und GAH 101-102 (Wildtiere an den Bachtränken) nicht z.T. umgekehrt mit kanaanäischem Einfluss auf den GAH zu rechnen ist!

<sup>(33)</sup> Vgl. etwa J. VAN DER VOORT, «Gn I,1 à II,4a et le Psaume CIV», *RB* 58 (1951) 321-347, bes. 338-339, Anm. 3; B. CELADA, «El salmo 104, el himno de Amenofis IV y otros documentos egipcios», *Sefarad* 30 (1970) 305-324, bes. 316; KRAUS, *Psalmen II*, 885; AUFFRET, *Hymnes*, 299-300; J. DAY, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea. Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (UCOP 35; Cambridge 1985) 73-74 u.v.a.

<sup>(34)</sup> Vgl. W. F. ALBRIGHT, «Baal-Zephon», *Festschrift Bertholet*, 1-14, bes. 3 mit Anm. 4; 4-5 mit Anm. 3; M. DAHOOD, *Psalms III* (AB 17A; New York 1970) 45.

<sup>(35)</sup> *KTU* 1.3 (= V AB = CTA 3 = UT 'nt) v 35 || *KTU* 1.4 (= II AB = CTA 4 = UT 51) iv 47; *KTU* 1.16 (= II K = CTA 16 = UT 125) i 8. An beiden Stellen ist ugar. *āny* als Verbalform zu verstehen und entsprechend hebr. נָאָה I mit "klagen, stöhnen" o.ä. zu übersetzen. Auch von Albright a.a.O. in *KTU* 1.16 i 8 identifiziertem "Phönix" (*hl*; dazu noch

Nordheim "durch Zufall keinesfalls erklärt werden"<sup>(36)</sup>, ja ohne die Tradition des ägyptischen Hymnus wäre nach Meinung von H. Spieckermann "die Erwähnung der Schiffe an dieser Stelle" — d.h. in Ps 104,26 — "nicht verständlich zu machen"<sup>(37)</sup>. Aber handelt es sich überhaupt um eine Parallele? Wenn ja, was vermag diese für das Verständnis von Ps 104,25-26 zu leisten?

Der betreffende Passus lautet:

- 53 Die Schiffe (*ḥ.w*) fahren stromab/nordwärts (*ḥd*)
- 54 und stromauf/südwärts (*ḥntj*) in gleicher Weise.
- 55 Jeder Weg ist geöffnet durch dein Erscheinen.
- 56 Die Fische im Fluss (*rm.w ḥr jtrw*)
- 57 hüpfen vor deinem Angesicht;
- 58 deine Strahlen sind im Inneren des Ozeans (*w3ḏ-wr*).

Hinsichtlich der Frage des Verhältnisses von GAH und Ps 104 kommt der Nennung der Schiffe entscheidende Bedeutung zu, ist sie doch im ägyptischen Hymnus ähnlich singulär wie im biblischen Psalm<sup>(38)</sup>. Wo in ägyptischen Hymnen von Schifffahrt u.ä. die Rede

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M. DAHOOD, «Hôl "Phoenix" in Job 29:18 and in Ugaritic», *CBQ* 36 [1974] 85-88) ist in der neueren Forschung nichts übriggeblieben, die (bei allen Differenzen im einzelnen) *hl* "Vorhof" (entsprechend arab. *ḥwl*) oder "Vorwerk, Festung" (entsprechend hebr. לִחַי) liest. Vgl. A. CAQUOT et al., *Textes ougaritiques*. T. I: Mythes et Légendes (LAPO 7; Paris 1974 [= fortan: *TO* I]) 176, 205, 550 (ebd. Anm. h); J.C. DE MOOR, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Nisaba 16; Leiden 1987 [= fortan: *ARTU*]) 18, 53, 211-212. Von Schiffen ist in ugaritischen Texten nur in Listen, Briefen u.ä. die Rede; vgl. für Stellenangaben *UT* Glossary Nr. 247, 506, 2680.

<sup>(36)</sup> «Hymnus», 242.

<sup>(37)</sup> *Heilsgegenwart*, 41.

<sup>(38)</sup> Mir sind nur zwei Ausnahmen bekannt: 1. Im Nilhymnus des Cheti, einem literarischen Text aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches, wird der Nil u.a. gepriesen als der,

"der Bäume wachsen lässt (an) jeder Schöpfstelle — an der es keinen Mangel hat —,

der das Schiff (*jmw*) hervorbringt durch seine Kraft (*m ph.tj.f*; < cj Helck: *m phw* "im Sumpf") — (da man) aus Stein nicht zimmern kann —;

der die Berge in Besitz nimmt mit seinem Bewässern (Regen, Tau?), ohne gesehen zu werden ..."

(W. HELCK, *Der Text des "Nilhymnus"* [Kleine ägyptische Texte; Wiesbaden 1972] 28-33; *ÄHG*, Nr. 242,32-35; *HPÉA*, Nr. 156 v 6-7). Da der Hymnus vielleicht das auch im GAH begegnende Motiv des Regens als eines himmlischen Nils kennt (i 7-8; v 7; nach Helck ist hier allerdings nur

ist, da geht es in der Regel um die Überfahrt des Sonnen- und Schöpfergottes in der Sonnenbarke<sup>(39)</sup>. Davon kann in einem Amarna-Text natürlich nicht die Rede sein, da die göttliche Sonnenscheibe nicht wie (Amun-)Re in einer Barke reist.

Für die "Schiffe" wird in GAH 53 der allgemeine Terminus *ḥ.w* verwendet, der Boote bezeichnet, welche für Transport, Reise, Fischerei und Krieg verwendet wurden<sup>(40)</sup>. Sehe ich recht, wird dieser Begriff nicht für seegängige Schiffe gebraucht<sup>(41)</sup>. Wenn

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vom Tau für die Wüste die Rede), mag der Verfasser des GAH teilweise in Anlehnung an den im NR vielgelesenen Klassiker formuliert haben; beachte aber, dass für die "Schiffe" nicht der gleiche Terminus verwendet wird (Nil: *ḥmw*; GAH 53 *ḥ.w*). 2. In dem an Amun adressierten 6. Hymnus von Pap. Leiden I-350 (19. Dyn.) heisst es unter dem Incipit "Jedes Gebiet ist vor dir in Furcht..." u.a.:

" < Deine Kraft > lastet schwer, wenn sie erreicht das Land  
und die Inseln inmitten des Ozeans (*w3ḏ-wr*, d.h. des Mittelmeers).  
Fremdländer und Berge kommen zu dir herab (...).  
Die Zeder ist gewachsen [...] für dich [auf den Bergen des Libanon],  
um deine erhabene Barke User-hat zu zimmern.  
Die Berge lassen für dich Gestein hervorkommen,  
um die Tore [deines Tempels] zu vergrössern.  
Lastschiffe sind auf dem Meer (*mnš.w ḥr jm*)  
und Schiffe (*ḥrj.w-mw*) am (Fluss-)Ufer,  
beladen und unterwegs zu deinem Angesicht.  
[Deinetwegen] fliesst der Fluss stromab und weht der Nordwind  
stromauf,

so dass sie deinem *Ka* alles bringen, was ist. (...)"

(J. ZANDEE, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leyden I 350* [Leyden 1948] 4-7; G. ROEDER, *Die ägyptische Götterwelt* [Zürich 1959] 283; *HPÉA* Nr. 72 I 6 4.9-12). Der Perspektivenwechsel ist gegenüber GAH und Ps 104 total, weshalb wir den Text in der folgenden Diskussion vernachlässigen können: hier werden weder Schöpfung noch Geschöpfe geschildert, sondern nur jene Bereiche der von Ägypten beherrschten *Welt*, die direkt der Versorgung des Gottes dienen. Dieser erscheint deshalb nicht als deren Schöpfer und Erhalter, sondern geradezu als ihr *Verbraucher*.

<sup>(39)</sup> Vgl. dazu ASSMANN, *Re und Amun*, 71-80.

<sup>(40)</sup> Vgl. D. JONES, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (Studies in Egyptology; London 1988) 131-132. Abbildungen von *ḥ.w* z.B. in THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu*. Vol. I: Scenes of King Herihor in the Court (OIP 100; Chicago 1979) Pl. 19-20, 22-23.

<sup>(41)</sup> Insofern ist die übliche Übersetzung "stromab/stromauf" berechtigt, obwohl in der Semantik der ägyptischen Verben *ḥd* und *ḥntj* der "Strom" nicht enthalten ist und damit nur das "Hin und Her" des Schiffsverkehrs angesprochen wird.



GAH 55 feststellt, dass durch das Erscheinen der Strahlensonne alle Wege geöffnet sind, dann bezieht sich dies nur auf Nil- und Binnenschifffahrt in Ägypten<sup>(42)</sup>. Der Ozean (*w3d-wr*, d.h. das Mittelmeer) kommt im GAH nicht als schiffbarer Bereich in den Blick, sondern als Raum, der allein den Strahlen des Sonnengottes zugänglich ist<sup>(43)</sup>.

- 15-26 Erscheinen der Strahlensonne
- 27-37 Untergang der Strahlensonne
- 38ff Aufgang der Strahlensonne
- 40-58 Leben für die sichtbare Schöpfung in *Ägypten*
  - 40-52 im *Landbereich*
    - 42-45 Menschen
    - 46-47 Vieh
    - 48-49 Vögel
    - 50-52 Wildtiere
  - 53-58 im *Wasserbereich*
    - 53-55 Schiffe
    - 56-57 Fische
    - 58 Ozean
- 59-75 Leben im Verborgenen (Beatmung von Embryo/  
Fötus und Küken)
- 76-78 1. Bewunderungsruf
- 79-99 Leben für die *Fremdländer* (und Ägypten)
  - 79-89 *Landbereich*
  - 90-99 *Wasserversorgung* (Nil am Himmel)
- 100 2. Bewunderungsruf
- 101-104 Explikation und Rekapitulation

<sup>(42)</sup> In den Gräbern von Amarna finden sich keine Darstellungen von seetüchtigen Schiffen, wohl aber solche von Lastschiffen: vgl. N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*. Pt. I: The Tomb of Meryra (ASE XIII; London 1903) Pl. 25 bzw. 29 (Detail); Pt. IV: The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and others (ASE XVI; London 1906) Pl. 8. Nach mündlicher Auskunft von Prof. J.-C. Goyon (Lyon) zeigen auch die *talatat*-Reliefs Echnatons von Karnak keine seegängigen Schiffe. Es scheint mir deshalb durchaus zweifelhaft, ob die singuläre Darstellung eines amarnazeitlichen Relieffragments mit zwei Asiaten und zwei Nubiern wirklich ein "large ship of seagoing type" dargestellt ist (so J.D. COONEY, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* [Brooklyn, NY 1965] 85 zu Nr. 51b).

<sup>(43)</sup> Dass die Strahlen des Sonnengottes bis in fernste Meerestiefen leuchten, sagt auch der grosse Šamaš-Hymnus aus der Bibliothek Assurbanipals in Ninive:

"Du überschreitest immer wieder das breite, weite Meer (*tâmatum*),  
[dessen] Innerstes (nicht einmal) die Igigu kennen.

Bedeutung und Funktion von GAH 53-58 müssen aus dem Kontext erschlossen werden. Wie die schematische Darstellung von dessen Aufbau zeigt<sup>(44)</sup>, bewegt sich der Hymnus auf allen Ebenen vom Nahen zum Fernerliegenden: von Ägypten zu den Fremdländern, vom Sichtbaren zum Verborgenen, vom Land- zum Wasserbereich, vom Menschen über dessen Vieh zum Wild usw.<sup>(45)</sup>. Funktion dieses Abschreitens ist es darzustellen, dass kein einziger Raum der göttlichen Schöpfermacht entzogen ist. GAH 53-55 gehört zu Abschnitt 40-58, der dem Bereich des in Ägypten<sup>(46)</sup> Sichtbaren gewidmet ist. Wichtige Struktursignale sind in diesem Abschnitt die Inklusio von Z. 40 ("du gibst *deine Strahlen*") zu Z. 58 ("*deine Strahlen* sind im Innern des Ozeans")<sup>(47)</sup> sowie der Parallelismus von 42ff. || 53ff.: Der Text geht jeweils vom Menschen aus (Arbeit || Schiffe) und führt zu Bereichen, die vom Menschen nicht kontrolliert werden (Wild || das Innere[!] des Ozeans). Die Nennung der Schiffe in GAH 53ff. fügt sich mühelos in dieses Schema ein: die Reihenfolge "Schiffe > Fische > Ozean" entspricht dem Fortschreiten vom Näheren, Bekannten zum Fernen, Unbekannten. Die Schiffe werden demnach im GAH gerade *als Menschenwerk* genannt; sie erschliessen den Menschen einen gewissen Lebensraum im Wasserbereich (Handel, Transport, evtl. Fischfang). Zum Sonnen- und Schöpfergott stehen sie — anders als im Nilhymnus<sup>(48)</sup>, aber auch anders als in Ps 104,26 — in keiner besonderen Beziehung.

Vergleicht man dieses undramatische Genrebild mit Ps 104,25-26, dann gibt es eigentlich nur zwei implizite Berührungspunkte: Hier wie dort dürfte die Nennung der Schiffe u.a. dadurch motiviert sein, dass sie dem Menschen Lebensraum im Wasserbe-

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[Šama]š, dein funkelnder Glanz dringt in die Wassertiefe hinab (*ina apsi*),

(dass?) die [Ungeheuer des Ozeans (*alahmū šūt* A.AB.BA) dein Licht erblicken (...)]

(W. G. LAMBERT, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford 1960] 128-129, Z. 35-38; A. FALKENSTEIN – W. VON SODEN, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* [Zürich 1953] 241; SEUX, *Hymnes et prières* [Anm. 16], 58).

<sup>(44)</sup> Vgl. auch AUFFRET, *Hymnes*, bes. 230-241.

<sup>(45)</sup> Dass auch dem Ägypter entzogene bzw. fremde Bereiche am Lob des Schöpfergottes teilnehmen, wird vor Amarna z.B. im Amunhymnus von pBoulaq 17 gesagt. Vgl. *ÄHG*, Nr. 87 E, 130-133 = *HPÉA*, Nr. 69 vii 3-4!

<sup>(46)</sup> Vgl. Z. 41: "*die Beiden Länder* sind im Fest täglich"!

<sup>(47)</sup> So auch AUFFRET, *Hymnes*, 239.

<sup>(48)</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 38!

reich eröffnen<sup>(49)</sup> — allerdings wird dies im biblischen Psalm gar nicht ausdrücklich gesagt, wogegen GAH 55 sehr deutlich vom “Öffnen des Weges” spricht. Und hier wie dort werden innerhalb des Wasserbereichs zwei Räume unterschieden: ein den Menschen mittels der Schifffahrt zugänglicher (GAH 53-55, Ps 104,26a) von einem den Menschen entzogenen Raum, in dem der Schöpfergott gewissermassen mit seiner Schöpfung allein ist (GAH 56-58, Ps 104,26b). Die Unterscheidung des den Menschen zugänglichen Lebensraumes von Bereichen, die Gott ausschliesslich für andere Kreaturen reserviert hat bzw. in denen er mit diesen Kreaturen allein ist, findet sich aber auch sonst in Ps 104 (vgl. V. 16-18 die hohen Berge mit den Bäumen *JHWHs*, die *er* gepflanzt hat; V. 20-21 die Nacht für die Löwen, die *von Gott* ihre Nahrung fordern), so dass nicht mit einer Beeinflussung durch den ägyptischen Hymnus gerechnet werden muss.

Die Annahme einer Abhängigkeit ist um so unwahrscheinlicher, als ausser diesen zwei impliziten Analogien überhaupt nur Differenzen zwischen den zwei Texten beobachtet werden können. Nicht nur sind verschiedene Schiffstypen impliziert, die sich in verschiedenen Wasserbereichen bewegen (Fluss- und Binnenschifffahrt, Meer): dieser Unterschied liesse sich ja als kanaänisch-biblische Adaptation der ägyptischen Vorlage an die lokalen Gegebenheiten der Levante-küste erklären. Vor allem fällt auf, dass gerade die problematischen Aspekte von Ps 104,25-26, nämlich die Nennung der Schiffe unter den חיים zwischen verschiedenen Lebewesen des Meeres<sup>(50)</sup>, damit verbunden ihre Abhängigkeit vom Schöpfergott, sowie das Nebeneinander von Schiffen und Leviathan<sup>(51)</sup> von der ägyptischen ‘Parallele’, die den für ägyptische Texte typischen Feind im Wasser, das Krokodil, nicht einmal als depotenzierte Gefahr nennt<sup>(52)</sup> und im

<sup>(49)</sup> Vgl. O. H. STECK, «Der Wein unter den Schöpfungsgaben. Überlegungen zu Psalm 104», *TTZ* 87 (1978) 173-191, hier 182 (= *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im Alten Testament. Gesammelte Studien* [ThB 70; München 1982] 240-261, hier 250) Anm. 20; RAVASI, *Salmi III*, 123.

<sup>(50)</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 1.

<sup>(51)</sup> Von GAH 53-58 herkommend müsste man in Ps 104,25-26 die Reihenfolge “Schiffe > Gewimmel, Lebewesen > Leviathan” erwarten.

<sup>(52)</sup> Vgl. dagegen die Vertrauensaussage in ramessidischen Hymnen der ‘persönlichen Frömmigkeit’, dass Amun den Einsamen auf dem Wasser vor dem Krokodil rettet: *ÄHG*, Nr. 194,13-18; 195,144-148 = *HPÉA*, Nr. 72 Chap. 70,18-20; 76 viii 3-4.

Ozean keine Lebewesen identifiziert<sup>(53)</sup>, weder erklärt noch motiviert werden können.

Der Vergleich von GAH 53-58 und Ps 104,25-26 bestätigt die in Abschnitt 2 gemachten Beobachtungen: mit einer Abhängigkeit des biblischen Psalms vom ägyptischen Hymnus ist — wie immer man sich die Vermittlung denken möchte — nicht zu rechnen. Entfällt aber die ägyptische Parallele bzw. Vorlage, dann bedarf das Urteil H. Spieckermanns, Ps 104,25-26 biete nur "gelehrte Reminiszenzen, die ohne kritische Sonderung und gezielte theologische Intention aneinandergereiht worden sind"<sup>(54)</sup>, zumindest einer Überprüfung. Es legt sich nahe, nach einer traditionsge-schichtlichen Verankerung auch der Meeresschilderung in der kanaanäisch-phönizischen Religion zu suchen.

#### IV. Leviathan und die Schiffe auf einem altsyrischen Rollsiegel vom Tell el-Dab'a

Ein 1979 auf dem Tell el-Dab'a, der alten Hyksoshauptstadt Auaris, gefundenes altsyrisches Zylindersiegel<sup>(55)</sup> kann in dieser Frage vielleicht weiter helfen. Die Abrollung des Siegels (*Abb. 1*)<sup>(56)</sup> zeigt links ein Schiff mit zentralem Mast und zwei Rudern, darin

<sup>(53)</sup> Anders der oben in Anm. 43 zitierte Šamaš-Hymnus, wo aber die Schiffe fehlen.

<sup>(54)</sup> *Heilsgegenwart*, 41.

<sup>(55)</sup> Reg. nr. 2995, gefunden auf dem Pflaster eines Palastes der 13. Dyn., Grabungsplatz F/I, Str. d/1 (18.Jh.a); Hämatit, H. 18,5 × Ø 11 mm. Für den archäologischen Kontext und die chronologische Einordnung vgl. M. BIETAK, «Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt», *AJA* 88 (1984) 471-485, bes. 478-479; DERS., «Eine Palastanlage aus der Zeit des späten Mittleren Reichs und andere Forschungsergebnisse aus dem östlichen Nildelta (Tell el-Dab'a 1979-1984)», *AÖAW.PH* 121 (1984) 312-349, bes. 325-332; für eine ikonographische Diskussion vgl. E. PORADA, «The Cylinder Seal from Tell el-Dab'a», *AJA* 88 (1984) 485-488 mit Pl. 65,1-3; für eine religionsgeschichtliche Interpretation vgl. M. BIETAK, «Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris», *Ägypten und Levante* 1 (1990) 9-16, bes. 15.

<sup>(56)</sup> BIETAK, «Palastanlage», 328 Abb. 6; DERS., «Zur Herkunft», 15 Abb. 5. Unsere *Abb. 1* ist gegenüber diesen Vorlagen spiegelverkehrt, d.h. wie üblich als Wiedergabe der Abrollung zu betrachten; vgl. PORADA, «Cylinder Seal» 486 Ill. 1. Herrn Prof. M. Bietak (Wien/Kairo) danke ich für die Überlassung von Umzeichnungen und einer Abrollung des Siegels.

zwei Menschen<sup>(57)</sup>. Über dem Schiff ist in einem stark zerstörten Bereich der rechte Flügel einer Flügelsonne erkennbar<sup>(58)</sup>, darunter offenbar ein fallender Capridenkopf(?). Rechts davon schreitet ein 'smiting god'<sup>(59)</sup> mit Hörnermütze(?) und lang nach hinten fallendem Zopf weit über zwei Berge aus, in der vorgestreckten Hand eine sog. 'Fensteraxt' vom 'duckbill'-Typ<sup>(60)</sup>, in der erhobenen Rechten eine Keule haltend. Unter ihm ist über einem Podest mit fünf Vertikalstreben eine Schlange erkennbar.

Die bisher genannten Bildelemente bilden zusammen eine Primärkomposition, von der die rechts verbleibenden Nebenmotive zunächst abzusetzen sind: oben ein Stier mit gesenktem Haupt und aufgestemmtten Vorderbeinen, also in Angriffshaltung<sup>(61)</sup>; durch ein Flechtband<sup>(62)</sup> davon getrennt unten ein hockender Löwe mit erhobener Pranke<sup>(63)</sup>, über seinem Rücken ein Vogel(?). Die Pranke des Löwen ist über den Schwanz der Schlange ausgestreckt, als ob der Löwe die Schlange zu schlagen beabsichtige<sup>(64)</sup>; doch ist angesichts

(<sup>57</sup>) Eine Parallele zu dieser Schiffsdarstellung ist mir aus der altsyrischen Glyptik nicht bekannt; die Zerstörung lässt nicht erkennen, ob ein Mastkorb dargestellt war. Vgl. für den Schiffstyp aber *Abb. 2-3*.

(<sup>58</sup>) Vgl. R. MAYER-OPIFICIUS, «Die geflügelte Sonne. Himmels- und Regendarstellungen im alten Vorderasien», *UF* 16 (1984) 189-236, bes. 191-192 und 209-210.

(<sup>59</sup>) Vgl. D. COLLON, «The Smiting God: A Study of a Bronze in the Pomerance Collection in New York», *Levant* 4 (1972) 111-134.

(<sup>60</sup>) Vgl. dazu PORADA, «Cylinder Seal», 485-486.

(<sup>61</sup>) Vgl. E. PORADA, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library (The Bollingen Series XIV; Washington DC 1948) Nr. 961, 975 (Nebenmotiv unten); D. COLLON, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (AOAT 27; Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975) Nr. 111; B. BUCHANAN, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*. Vol. I: Cylinder Seals (Oxford 1966) Nr. 898; DERS., *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven-London 1981) Nr. 1256, 1279.

(<sup>62</sup>) Zu diesem typisch altsyrischen Motiv vgl. COLLON, *Seal Impressions*, 193-194.

(<sup>63</sup>) Vgl. in ähnlicher Position z.B. PORADA, *Corpus*, Nr. 942, 951, 967, 986; BUCHANAN, *Ashmolean I*, Nr. 858; DERS., *Yale*, Nr. 1231, 1248; B. TEISSIER, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1984) Nr. 489; einen Capriden schlagend PORADA, *Corpus* Nr. 923, 928 (nur Capridenkopf!), 995; BUCHANAN, *Yale* Nr. 1221; TEISSIER, *Marcopoli* Nr. 524.

(<sup>64</sup>) So PORADA, «Cylinder Seal», 488, mit Verweis auf eine winzige Schlange hinter einem Löwen auf Podest (ebd. Pl. 65,3). Vgl. auch L. MATOUŠ-M. MATOUŠOVA-RAJMOVA, *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln mit*

der Tatsache, dass Hauptszene und Nebenmotive bei altsyrischen Siegeln in der Regel klar getrennt sind und wir es hier offensichtlich mit einem eher nachlässig geschnittenen Objekt zu tun haben, äusserst fraglich, ob die beiden Tiere in einer bestimmten Relation zueinander stehen<sup>(65)</sup>, wie ja auch der ebenfalls leicht überlappende Stier kaum den Wettergott angreifend gedacht ist.

Obwohl das Siegel von einem ägyptischen Fundort stammt und möglicherweise am Ort selbst von einem lokalen Siegelschneider hergestellt wurde<sup>(66)</sup>, besteht kein Zweifel, dass dieser sich hinsichtlich der ikonographischen Details und der Gesamtkomposition an altsyrischen Vorbildern orientierte. Auffällig ist allerdings, dass die Komposition stärker parataktisch organisiert ist als bei vergleichbaren Stücken, die den 'smiting god' in der Regel im Gegenüber zu einer Göttin zeigen<sup>(67)</sup>, wogegen hier nicht ganz klar ist, gegen wen der Gott eigentlich kämpft<sup>(68)</sup>. Ist es der links über dem Schiff niederfallende Capride? Ist es, da der Gott sonst häufig in der vorgestreckten Hand nicht nur eine Waffe, sondern auch eine Schlange hält bzw. mit einer Waffe deren geöffnetes Maul durchbohrt<sup>(69)</sup>, die unter ihm dargestellte Schlange<sup>(70)</sup>? Oder wird hier absichtlich nicht

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*Siegeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität in Prag* (Prag 1984) Nr. 51 (liegender Löwe auf Podest, darunter eine Schlange).

<sup>(65)</sup> Beispiele für ähnlich in die Hauptszene überlappende Löwen finden sich bei PORADA, *Corpus*, Nr. 951, 979; BUCHANAN, *Yale*, Nr. 1225, 1241, 1247; TEISSIER, *Marcopoli*, Nr. 440.

<sup>(66)</sup> Vgl. PORADA, «Cylinder Seal», *passim*; BIETAK, «Zur Herkunft», 15.

<sup>(67)</sup> Vgl. PORADA, «Cylinder Seal», 486 mit Pl. 65,2; U. WINTER, *Frau und Göttin*. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt (OBO 53; Freiburg Schweiz-Göttingen 21987) Abb. 123-124, 201, 205, 246, 269-272, 301, 422-424, 440, 442, 444, 507.

<sup>(68)</sup> Porada weist zu Recht darauf hin, dass der Gott die Waffe in der ausgestreckten Linken "more like an emblem than a weapon" hält (PORADA, «Cylinder Seal», 486).

<sup>(69)</sup> Vgl. Anm. 67; E. WILLIAMS-FORTE, «The Snake and the Tree in the Iconography and Texts of Syria during the Bronze Age», *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (Occasional Papers on the Near East 2/1; Malibu, CA 1983) 18-43, bes. 28ff; dazu W. G. LAMBERT, «Trees, Snakes and Gods in Ancient Syria and Anatolia», *BSOAS* 48 (1985) 435-451; O. KEEL, «Ancient Seals and the Bible», *JAOS* 106 (1986) 307-311.

<sup>(70)</sup> Auf zwei Siegeln der Sammlung H. Seyrig (jetzt in der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) wird der Wettergott auf der überwundenen Schlange stehend dargestellt (WILLIAMS-FORTE, «The Snake and the Tree», 29-30 mit Pl. I,2-3).

ein Kampf des schlagenden Gottes gegen *einen* bestimmten Gegner dargestellt, handelt es sich vielmehr um die Darstellung der umfassenden Herrschaft des Gottes, der durch seine Macht Capride und Schlange in Schach hält?

Lassen sich die auf dem Siegel dargestellten Gestalten näher identifizieren? Am wenigsten Mühe bereitet die durch Haltung und Attribute gesicherte Identifikation des Gottes als Baal<sup>(71)</sup>; dass daneben die geflügelte Scheibe erscheint, rät an, den Gott als frühe Erscheinungsform des phönizischen "Himmelsherrn" zu identifizieren<sup>(72)</sup>. Der Capride könnte für die vom Wettergott unterworfenen Steppe stehen<sup>(73)</sup>. Dass es sich bei der Schlange nicht einfach um eine gewöhnliches Tier, sondern um ein göttliches Wesen handelt, beweist das Podest mit Vertikalstreben, über dem sonst Götter thronen<sup>(74)</sup>, wogegen Tiere in dieser Position nur ganz selten begegnen<sup>(75)</sup>. Die Schlange kann deshalb mit der sonst vom syrischen Wettergott bekämpften Schlange, d.h. als Jammu bzw. Litanu/Leviathan<sup>(76)</sup> identifiziert werden.

<sup>(71)</sup> Vgl. überblickshalber A. VANEL, *L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien jusqu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (CRB 3; Paris 1965) 77-84. Zur doppelten Bewaffnung vgl. die beiden Schlagwaffen (*šmdm*) Baals (*ygrš* und *šymr*) in *KTU* 1.2 (III AB, A = CTA 2 = UT 68) iv 11-26 bzw. das Nebeneinander von *ktp* und *šmd* in *KTU* 1.6 (= I AB = CTA 6 = UT 49) v 2-3 (vgl. *TO* I, 136-138, 265; *ARTU*, 39-41, 94).

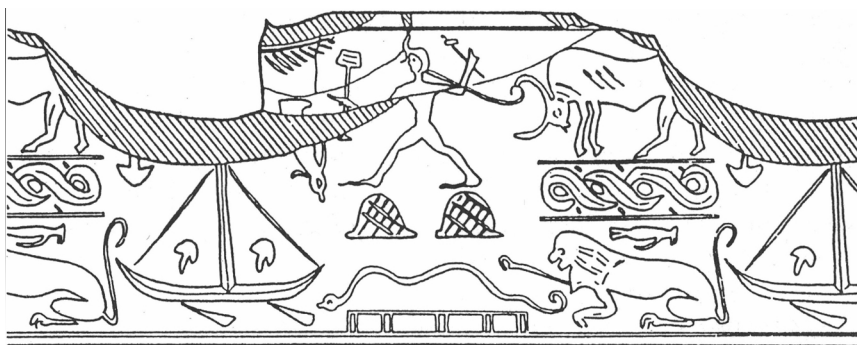
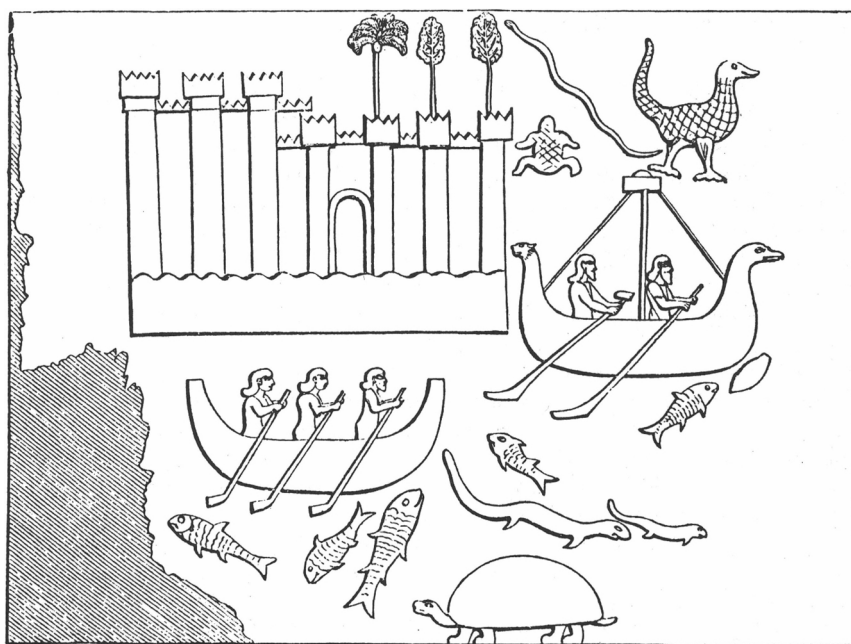
<sup>(72)</sup> Vgl. auch BUCHANAN, *Yale*, Nr. 1222 = WILLIAMS-FORTE, «The Snake and the Tree», 29 und 41 Fig. 13. Zu Baal-Šamem vgl. H. GESE et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (Die Religionen der Menschheit 10,2; Stuttgart u.a. 1970) 126, 182-185.

<sup>(73)</sup> Vgl. etwa PORADA, *Corpus*, Nr. 910; BUCHANAN, *Yale*, Nr. 1219. Vor dem über der bezwungenen Schlange stehenden Wettergott auf dem Seyrig-Siegel WILLIAMS-FORTE, «The Snake and the Tree», Pl. I,3 findet sich ein sitzender Capride. Vgl. auch den Capriden als Gabe für den schlagenden Gott bei H. PITTMAN-J. ARUZ, *Ancient Art in Miniature. Near Eastern Seals from the Collection of Martin and Sarah Cherkasky* (New York 1987) Nr. 50.

<sup>(74)</sup> Vgl. u.a. PORADA, *Corpus*, Nr. 910-913, 946; BUCHANAN, *Ashmolean I*, Nr. 858-859; C.F.-A. SCHAEFFER-FORRER, *Corpus des Cylindres-sceaux de Ras-Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia*. T. I (Synthèse no. 13; Paris 1983) 66 Chypre A18. Vgl. ugarit. *kt il* in *KTU* 1.4 (= II AB = CTA 4 = UT 51) i 31-32, *kt* in *KTU* 1.13 (= CTA 13 = UT 6) 10-11, dazu *TO* I, 195 mit Anm. h; *ARTU*, 46, 138.

<sup>(75)</sup> Für einen Löwen auf einem Podest vgl. PORADA, «Cylinder Seal», Pl. 65,3; wenig älter MATOUŠ-MATOUŠOVA-RAJMOVA, *Keilschrifttafeln*, Nr. 51.

<sup>(76)</sup> Zur Identifikation mit Jammu vgl. KEEL, «Ancient Seals», 308-309; zur Identifikation mit Litanu vgl. LAMBERT, «Trees, Snakes and Gods», 443-444.

*Abb. 1**Abb. 2*



Litanu<sup>(77)</sup> ist namentlich bisher nur in einem einzigen ugaritischen Text bezeugt; in *KTU* 1.5 (= I\* AB = CTA 5 = UT 67) i 1-3 || 27-30 erscheint *ltn* als Eigenname eines von Baal besiegten, feindlichen Wesens, das als "flüchtige(?) Schlange" (*bṭn brḥ*, vgl. *נחש בריח* in Ijob 26,13; Jes 27,1)<sup>(78)</sup> bzw. als "sich windende Schlange" (*bṭn 'qltn*, vgl. *נחש עקלתון* in Jes 27,1) sowie als "Mächtiger(?) mit den sieben Köpfen" (*šlyt d.šb't rāšm*, vgl. Ps 74,14) bezeichnet wird. Da die Namensidentität mit dem biblischen Leviathan unbestritten ist<sup>(79)</sup>, dürfen wir mit Jes 27,1; Ps 74,13-14; 104,26; Ijob 3,8cj (vgl. 26,12-13; Am 9,3) davon ausgehen, dass auch der ugaritische Litanu als Meeresungeheuer gegolten hat. In Ijob 3,8cj steht *לריון* parallel zu *ים*, und auch im zitierten Text aus Ugarit dürfte "Litanu" Baals Feind Jammu repräsentieren<sup>(80)</sup>. *Ym* und *ltn* sind demnach zwei Namen ein und derselben Macht. Was deren Aussehen betrifft, scheint die Schlangengestalt (*bṭn*, *נחש*) primär zu sein<sup>(81)</sup>. Sekundär sind dazu dann andere Aspekte des Monströsen assoziiert worden, etwa die sieben Köpfe<sup>(82)</sup>, die Identifikation als Drache (*tmn*, *תנין*)<sup>(83)</sup> oder — in ägyptischer bzw. ägyptisierender Rezeption — als Krokodil<sup>(84)</sup>.

(77) Zur Vokalisation von ugar. *ltn* vgl. J. A. EMERTON, «Leviathan and *Ltn*: The Vocalization of the Ugaritic Word for Dragon», *VT* 32 (1982) 327-331.

(78) Nur *brḥ* in *KTU* 1.82 (= PRU II 1 = UT 1001) Rs. 38; vgl. *ARTU*, 181; A. CAQUOT et al., *Textes ougaritiques*. T. II: Textes religieux et rituels; Correspondance (LAPO 14; Paris 1989 [= fortan: TO II]) 69.

(79) Vgl. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *TWAT*, IV, 521-527; DAY, *God's Conflict*, 4-5; W. HERRMANN, «Das Aufleben des Mythos unter den Judäern während des babylonischen Zeitalters», *BN* 40 (1987) 97-129, bes. 108-114; zuletzt O. LORETZ, *Ugarit und die Bibel*. Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament (Darmstadt 1990) 92-93.

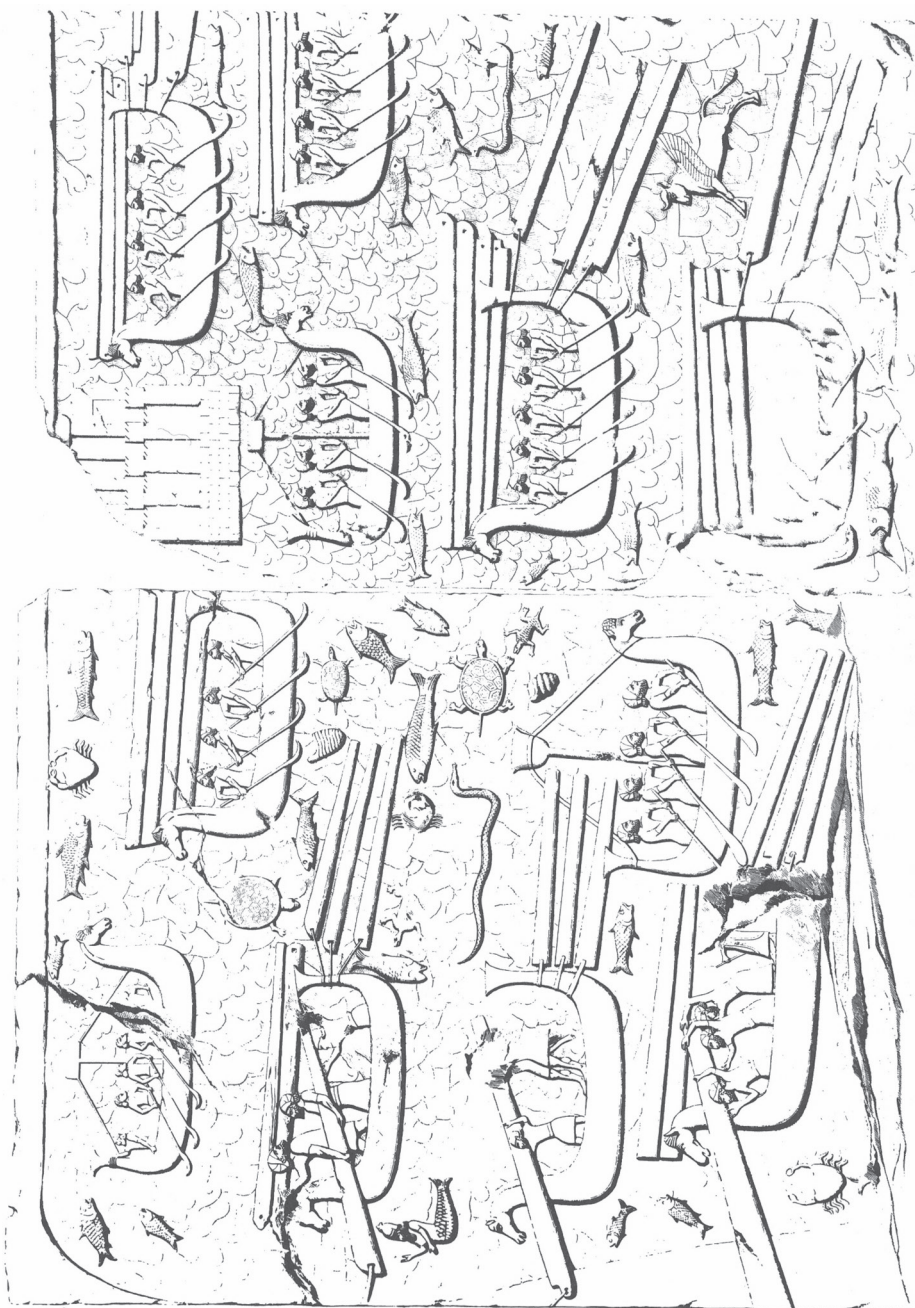
(80) Vgl. die sehr ähnliche Passage *KTU* 1.3 (= V AB = CTA 3 = UT 'nt) iii 38-45, wo nicht der Name *ltn*, dafür aber *ym* und dessen Epitheta *nhr* "Strom", *tnn* "Drache" sowie wiederum *bṭn 'qltn* und *šlyt d.šb't rāšm* erscheinen (vgl. TO I, 167-168; *ARTU*, 11). Auf einem Akkad-zeitlichen Rollsiegel aus Mari kämpft der Wettergott nicht gegen die Schlange, sondern gegen einen Strom (vgl. O. KEEL, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*. Am Beispiel der Psalmen [Zürich-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984] 39-40 mit Abb. 42; WINTER, *Frau und Göttin*, Abb. 459; dazu KEEL, «Ancient Seals», 309).

(81) Sie steht im Hintergrund des sehr konkreten Vergleichs *KTU* 1.23 (= SS = CTA 23 = UT 52) 33-35, Els "Hand" (d.h. sein Penis) sei so lang wie *ym* geworden (TO I, 374; *ARTU*, 123-124).

(82) Eine siebenköpfige Schlange *muš-sag-imin* und ein panthergestaltiges, siebenköpfiges Monster, nicht mit dem Wasserbereich verbunden, sind in der sumerischen Tradition des 3.Jts. in Texten und Bildern dargestellt (vgl. KEEL, *Bildsymbolik*, 44-45), im 2.Jt. aber nur noch als literarische Reminiszenz belegt (LIPÍŃSKI, *TWAT*, IV, 524-526).

(83) Vgl. zum Meeresdrachen auch *KTU* 1.83 (= PRU II 3 = UT 1003), übersetzt in *ARTU*, 182; TO II, 28-30.

(84) Vgl. Ijob 40,25-41,26; dazu O. KEEL, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob*. Eine Deutung von Ijob 38-41 vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgenössischen

*Abb. 3*

Das Verhältnis von Haupt- und Nebenszene lässt sich auf altsyrischen Siegeln nicht immer klar interpretieren. Bei *Abb. 1* scheint die Nebenszene mit ihrer Überordnung des Stiers über den Löwen parallel zur Szene unmittelbar links davon zu deuten zu sein: Wenngleich auch hier kein eigentlicher Kampf dargestellt wird<sup>(85)</sup>, so impliziert die aggressive Haltung von Stier und Löwe doch den Konflikt und bringt die Überordnung eine gewisse Hierarchie zum Ausdruck<sup>(86)</sup>. Es ist dann naheliegend, den Stier mit Baal, den Löwen mit Motu in Verbindung zu bringen<sup>(87)</sup>. Die Doppelung der Herrschaft Baals über Jammu/Litanu und Motu entspricht derjenigen im ugaritischen Baal-Zyklus, wo Baals Königsherrschaft durch den siegreichen Kampf gegen *beide* Mächte errungen werden muss<sup>(88)</sup>.

Das Siegel von *Abb. 1* vermittelt insgesamt den Eindruck eines spannungsvollen Nebeneinanders verschiedener göttlicher Mächte. Die Fronten zwischen lebensfördernden und lebensbedrohenden Mächten bleiben relativ unscharf. Litanu/Leviathan erscheint zwar als dem Himmelsherrn untergeordnete Grösse, nimmt über dem Podest aber doch einen Platz göttlichen Ranges ein. Spuren derselben Ambivalenz finden sich auch im Baal-Zyklus, wo Jammu ja stets als "Liebling Els" (*mdd il*) bezeichnet und vom Schöpfergott der ersten Generation konsequent favorisiert wird<sup>(89)</sup>. Die proto-phö-

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Bildkunst (FRLANT 121; Göttingen 1978) 141-156; DERS., *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel II* (OBO 88; Freiburg Schweiz-Göttingen 1989) 268-275, bes. 275.

<sup>(85)</sup> Zum Kampf von Löwe und Stier auf altsyrischen Siegeln vgl. BUCHANAN, *Ashmolean I*, Nr. 897, 899, 905; DERS., *Yale*, Nr. 1218, 1223, 1266(?), 1267; TEISSIER, *Marcopoli*, Nr. 448; SCHAEFFER-FORRER, *Corpus I*, 14-15 Nr. R.S. 3.411. Nur selten erscheint der Stier eindeutig als Sieger: vgl. BUCHANAN, *Ashmolean I* Nr. 897; DERS., *Yale* Nr. 1266(?); D. COLLON, «The Aleppo Workshop. A Seal-Cutters' Workshop in Syria in the Second Half of the 18th Century B.C.», *UF* 13 (1981) 33-43, Nr. 7; WINTER, *Frau und Göttin*, Abb. 434; dazu O. KEEL, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel III* (OBO 100; Freiburg Schweiz-Göttingen 1990) 190-194.

<sup>(86)</sup> Schreitende Stiere, darunter, durch das Flechtband getrennt, schreitende Löwen erscheinen als einziges Motiv auf dem altsyrischen Rollsiegel BUCHANAN, *Ashmolean I*, Nr. 896; ein Stierpaar über einem Löwenpaar bei WINTER, *Frau und Göttin*, Abb. 246.

<sup>(87)</sup> Vgl. KEEL, «Ancient Seals», 309; DERS., *Studien III*, 190-194, 310-311 mit Fig. 82.

<sup>(88)</sup> Die Identifikation des Vogels soll hier offen gelassen werden. Für Boten Motus in Vogelgestalt vgl. DE MOOR, *ARTU*, 65 mit Anm. 301. Eine Verbindung des Vogels mit einem "mythical *hol* bird", wie sie PORADA, «Cylinder Seals», 487 Anm. 11 und BIETAK, «Zur Herkunft», 15 erwogen haben, ist nach dem oben in Anm. 35 Gesagten jedenfalls auszuschliessen.

<sup>(89)</sup> Vgl. zu dieser Ambivalenz F. STOLZ, «Funktionen und Bedeutungsbereiche des ugaritischen Ba'al'smythos», *Funktionen und Leistungen*

nizischen Seefahrer, in deren Auftrag das Siegel vom Tell el-Dab'a angefertigt worden sein dürfte, müssen diese Ambivalenz in besonderer Weise gepflegt haben. Die bange Hoffnung auf sichere Schifffahrt musste nicht nur auf das wohlthätige Patronat des Himmelsherrn setzen<sup>(90)</sup>, sondern gleichzeitig auch auf die durch allershand Opfer<sup>(91)</sup> zu gewinnende Versöhnlichkeit des immer wieder gefährlichen und beängstigenden Jammu/Litanu<sup>(92)</sup>.

Bei aller Ambivalenz ist allerdings nicht zu übersehen, dass das spannungsvolle Gleichgewicht zwischen verschiedenen göttlichen Grössen letztlich von der souveränen Macht des kosmos-stiftenden Schöpfer- und Wettergottes Baal<sup>(93)</sup> kontrolliert wird. Er ist die zentrale, aktiv ordnende Grösse auf dem Siegel vom Tell el-Dab'a. Seine u.a. den Litanu/Leviathan in Schach haltende Souveränität ist es, welche die ruhige Fahrt des Schiffes unter der Flügelsonne ermöglicht. Dass die Macht Baals der sicheren Fahrt des Schiffes zugute kommt und diese das Hauptanliegen des Siegelamulets ist, geht daraus hervor, dass die ganze Komposition nach links hin orientiert ist und das Schiff (wie häufiger der Sakralbaum oder andere Symbole irdischer Ordnung) direkt unter der Flügelsonne erscheint.

Trifft diese Deutung das Richtige, dann ist das Siegel vom Tell el-Dab'a das bislang älteste Zeugnis für das Nebeneinander von sicher fahrenden Schiffen und (mehr oder weniger entmachtetem) Leviathan. Mehr als 400 Jahre vor der Entstehung des GAH wird die

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*des Mythos.* Drei altorientalische Beispiele (OBO 48; Freiburg Schweiz-Göttingen 1982) 83-118, bes. 95-96. Auch Motu wird "Liebling Els" genannt. Kaum zufällig werden gerade diese beiden Mächte (bzw. Schlange und Löwe) in der altsyrischen Glyptik über dem Podest mit den Vertikalstreben dargestellt.

<sup>(90)</sup> Für Votivanker im Bereich des Baaltempels von Ugarit vgl. H. FROST, «The Stone Anchors of Ugarit», *Ugaritica VI* (Paris 1969) 235-245.

<sup>(91)</sup> Für Opfer an den Meeresgott vgl. etwa *KTU* 1.39 (= *CTA* 34 = *UT* 1) 13 (vgl. J.-M. DE TARRAGON, *TO* II, 138; *TUMAT*, II/3, 310); *KTU* 1.46 (= *CTA* 36 = *UT* 9) 6; *KTU* 1.148,9 (vgl. *TO* II, 165; *TUAT*, II/3, 307). Zu *ym* in Personennamen vgl. H. B. HUFFMON, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts. A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore 1965) 210 s.v. *YM*<sup>1</sup>; F. GRÖNDAHL, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (StP 1; Rom 1967) 83 § 142, 144 s.v. *YMM* (beachte bes. *ymil*, *ilym*, *mlkym*, *bdym*).

<sup>(92)</sup> Vgl. als novellistisches Motiv noch die 'Opferung' Jonas an das Meer in Jon 1,11-15!

<sup>(93)</sup> Zur Diskussion um den kosmogonischen Charakter der Kämpfe Baals gegen Jammu und Motu vgl. zuletzt LORETZ, *Ugarit und die Bibel*, 156-159.

Motivkombination "souveräner Schöpfergott — Schiff(e) — Leviathan" durch ein altsyrisches Siegel dokumentiert, dessen ikonographische Vorbilder an der nördlichen Levanteküste, also im proto-phönizischen Bereich, zu suchen sein dürften<sup>(94)</sup>. Damit sind wir endgültig von der Pflicht entbunden, die Nennung der Schiffe in Ps 104,26 auf ägyptische Inspiration zurückführen zu müssen, zumal die phönizische Tradition von Baal-Šaphon, Baal-Šamem und anderen Baal-Gestalten als Patronen der sicheren Seefahrt u.a. auch noch durch ägyptische Inschriften des 14./13.Jhs.a in Memphis<sup>(95)</sup> und, zeitlich viel näher bei Ps 104 stehend, durch einen Fluch des Staatsvertrags Esarhaddons mit dem König von Tyrus (677a) bezeugt ist<sup>(96)</sup>.

Vor dem Hintergrund des kommentierten Siegelbildes lässt sich für Ps 104,26 folgern, dass das ruhige Hin und Her der Schiffe auf dem Meer (V. 26a)<sup>(97)</sup> positiv mit der Entmachtung des Leviathans (V. 26b)<sup>(98)</sup> korrespondiert. Die beiden Aspekte verhalten sich reziprok zueinander<sup>(99)</sup>; sie charakterisieren beide das Meer als befried-

<sup>(94)</sup> Zur proto-phönizischen Schifffahrt im 2.Jt.a vgl. J. M. SASSON, «Canaanite Maritime Involvement in the Second Millenium B.C.», *JAOS* 86 (1966) 126-138; E. LINDER, «Ugarit: a Canaanite Thalassocracy», *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic* (ed. G. D. YOUNG) (Winona Lake 1981) 31-42.

<sup>(95)</sup> Dazu W. H. HELCK, «Ein Indiz früher Handelsfahrten syrischer Kaufleute», *UF* 2 (1970) 35-37; CAQUOT, *TO* I, 82-83; BIETAK, «Zur Herkunft», 9-11.

<sup>(96)</sup> Vgl. R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO.B 9; Graz 1956) 109 iv 10-13. Für die spätere Dokumentation vgl. M.-F. BASLEZ, «Cultes et dévotions des Phéniciens en Grèce: les divinités marines», *Studia Phoenicia IV* (Collection d'études classiques 1; Namur 1986) 289-305; C. BONNET, «Typhon et Baal Šaphon», *Studia Phoenicia V* (OrLuvAn 22; Leuven 1987) 101-143.

<sup>(97)</sup> Die Piel-Form mit Nun paragogicum impliziert hier wie in V. 10 und in Ps 89,16 friedliche Bewegung unter göttlichem Schutz.

<sup>(98)</sup> Zum *Spiel* JHWHs mit dem Leviathan vgl. Ijob 40,29, dazu etwa DAY, *God's Conflict*, 72-73. Auch die JHWH gefügige Seeschlange von Am 9,3 wird als depotenzierter Leviathan zu verstehen sein.

<sup>(99)</sup> Auf ruhige Seefahrt dank der Entmachtung von Meeresungeheuern (hier *ārš* und *tnn*) spielt vielleicht auch *KTU* 1.6 (= I AB = CTA 6 = UT 62) vi 51-53 an, wobei hier die Schifffahrt aber mit der schöpferischen Tätigkeit von Kotar-Ḥasis, dem Patron der kulturellen Errungenschaften und Komplizen Baals, verbunden wird (vgl. *TO* I, 270; *ARTU*, 99). Die vier Zeilen gehören allerdings zu den umstrittensten der ugaritischen Literatur; vgl. nur M. DIETRICH-O. LORETZ, «Schriftliche und mündliche

deten, in den Kosmos integrierten Lebensraum und sind so Ausdruck der umfassenden Schöpfermacht JHWHs.

## V. Die Schiffe unter den Lebewesen

Es bleibt die Einreihung der Schiffe unter die Lebewesen zu erklären. Ein Blick auf die Mikrostruktur von V. 25-26<sup>(100)</sup> erlaubt die präzisierende Feststellung, dass Schiffe und Leviathan offenbar stellvertretend für die "grossen Lebewesen" (חיות גדולות) des Meeres stehen<sup>(101)</sup>. Noch einmal kann die Ikonographie hier weiterhelfen<sup>(102)</sup>, noch einmal weist sie in den phönizischen Raum<sup>(103)</sup>.

Darstellungen phönizischer Schiffe der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jts. a dokumentieren, dass der Bug dieser Schiffe sehr häufig in Tierprotome auslief<sup>(104)</sup>, wobei v.a. Vogel- und Pferdeköpfe belegt sind. Sie

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Überlieferung eines "Sonnenhymnus" nach KTU 1.6 VI 42-53», *UF* 12 (1980) 399-400; M. DIJKSTRA, «Once again: the Closing Lines of the Ba'al-Cycle (KTU 1.6 VI 42ff)», *UF* 17 (1985) 147-152; J. TROPPEL-É. VERREET, «Ugaritisch *ndy*, *ydy*, *hdy*, *ndd* und *d(w)d*», *UF* 20 (1988) 339-350, hier 341.

<sup>(100)</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 1.

<sup>(101)</sup> In ugaritischen Texten erscheinen die Meeresungeheuer explizit als "die Grossen" (*rbm*), der Meeresgott Jammu als "Gott der Grossen" (*il rbm*); vgl. KTU 1.3 (= V AB = CTA 3 = UT 'nt) iii 39; KTU 1.6 (= I AB = CTA 6 = UT 49) v 2, dazu ARTU, 11 mit Anm. 58, 94.

<sup>(102)</sup> Vgl. bereits KEEL, *Bildsymbolik*, 64-65.

<sup>(103)</sup> Vgl. zum Folgenden M.-Ch. DE GRAEVE, *The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 B.C.)* (OrLuvAn 7; Leuven 1981), bes. 62ff, 123ff.

<sup>(104)</sup> Die Dekoration eines sehr schlecht erhaltenen, ins 14. Jh. a datierenden mittelsyrischen Zylindersiegels aus dem Louvre (L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental* [Paris 1920 + 1923] I 196, II Pl. 976,9 Nr. A. 937; DE GRAEVE Nr. 34) zeigt unter einer Flügelsonne mit schützend ausgebreiteten Armen zwei ruhig fahrende Boote ohne Mast und zwischen den beiden Booten einen Göttinnenkopf, den E. PORADA als "protective symbol for the two boats" gedeutet hat («Syrian Seal from East Karnak», *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 237-240, hier 240; vgl. S. SCHROER, *Studien II*, 179 und 182 Abb. 0175). Im oberen Bildfeld ist neben der Flügelsonne ein Löwe sichtbar, der einen Capriden angreift, im Wasserbereich sind u.a. Fische, Krebs, Skorpion und Schlange(?) zu sehen. Einzelne Motive begegneten schon in Abb. 1, die ganze Komposition erinnert jedoch stärker an neuassyrische Darstellungen des Mittelmeeres und seiner exotischen Fauna (vgl. Abb. 2-3), wobei der Göttinnenkopf in der Tat ähnliche Funktion haben dürfte wie dort die Schutzgenien. Ob die beiden Boote auf dem Siegel Tierprotome haben oder nicht, lässt sich aufgrund der publizierten Photographien nicht entscheiden.

schmücken bei älteren Darstellungen oft Vorder- und Hintersteven<sup>(105)</sup>, finden sich aber ab der zweiten Hälfte des 8.Jhs.a fast nur noch am Bug. Bronzebänder aus Balawat aus der Zeit Salmanassars III. (858-824a)<sup>(106)</sup> zeigen flache Boote ohne Mast mit einem oder zwei Rudern; Beischriften verbinden die Schiffe mit einer Tributleistung aus Tyrus und Sidon<sup>(107)</sup>. Die Tierprotome an Bug und Heck sind zoologisch nur schwer zu identifizieren; vermutlich handelt es sich um etwas kurz geratene Pferdeköpfe. Ein damit vergleichbares Tonmodell mit Tierprotomen an Vorder- und Hintersteven ist in Achziv gefunden worden<sup>(108)</sup>. Auch auf einem Relief aus dem Zentralpalast Tiglatpilesers III. (745-727a) in Nimrud (*Abb. 2*)<sup>(109)</sup> scheint ein Schiff mit Mastbaum (vgl. *Abb. 1*) mit zwei Tierprotomen versehen zu sein, am Vordersteven mit einem Vogel-, am Hintersteven vielleicht mit einem Löwenkopf<sup>(110)</sup>. Die Inselfestung daneben (Arwad?) weist auch dieses Schiff als phönizisch aus<sup>(111)</sup>. Etwa in die gleiche Zeit datiert eine Darstellung aus Karatepe mit zurückgebogenem Vogelkopf am Vordersteven<sup>(112)</sup>. Nach vorn zeigende Entenköpfe sind am Vordersteven phönizischer Zweidecker auf einem Relief aus dem Südwestpalast Sanheribs (704-681a) belegt<sup>(113)</sup>.

<sup>(105)</sup> Vogelköpfe schmücken schon Vorder- und Hintersteven der Seevölkerschiffe auf den Reliefs Ramses' III. (1187-1156a) von Medinet Habu. Vgl. THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu*. Vol. I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III (OIP 8; Chicago 1930) Pl. 37; vgl. T. DOTHAN, *The Philistines and their Material Culture* (Jerusalem 1982) 7-11 mit Anm. 34.

<sup>(106)</sup> DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 79-80; vgl. ANEP Nr. 356.

<sup>(107)</sup> Vgl. M. WÄFLER, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischer Darstellungen* (AOAT 26; Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975) 77-85.

<sup>(108)</sup> Vgl. A. GÖTTLICHER, *Materialien für ein Corpus der Schiffsmodelle im Altertum* (Mainz 1978) 30 und Pl. 7 Nr. 103.

<sup>(109)</sup> A. H. LAYARD, *Niniveh and its Remains* (London 1849) II 395; R. D. BARNETT-M. FALKNER, *The Sculptures of Aššur-našir-apli II (883-859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud* (London 1962) Pl. LVI-LVII; DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 81.

<sup>(110)</sup> Bezweifelt von BARNETT, a.a.O. 17 ("seems to be shapeless, in fact"); das verwitterte Original BM (WAA) 102981 lässt keine sichere Entscheidung zu.

<sup>(111)</sup> Vgl. WÄFLER, *Nicht-Assyrer*, 95.

<sup>(112)</sup> DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 82; W. ORTHMANN, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (SBA 8; Bonn 1971) 492 und Taf. 17,a (Karatepe A/23); I. J. WINTER, «On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and their Context», *AnatSt* 29 (1979) 115-151, bes. 120-121 mit Pl. XVI(c).

<sup>(113)</sup> DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 87a; WÄFLER, *Nicht-Assyrer*, 98-101. Die meisten Kommentatoren halten sich nur an Zeichnungen LAYARDS, wo die

Auf Darstellungen aus den Palästen Sargons II. (721-705a) in Khorsabad<sup>(114)</sup> und Assurbanipals (669-627a) in Ninive<sup>(115)</sup> erkennen wir dann unzweifelhaft die berühmten phönizischen *hippoi* (*Abb. 3*)<sup>(116)</sup>. Diese v.a. für den Küstentransport verwendeten Lastschiffe (*oneraria*) waren nach Plinius (*Nat. Hist.* 7,208) die Erfindung eines Tyrers namens Hippius; richtig ist an der Erklärung jedenfalls die phönizische Herkunft des Schiffstyps. Die gewaltigen Pferdeprotome am Vordersteven dieser Schiffe und der auch von Strabo (*Geogr.* II 3,4) bezeugte terminus technicus<sup>(117)</sup> machen verständlich, warum man in solchen Schiffen חיות גדולות erkennen konnte. Dass diese Assoziation mit grossen Tieren sich nicht nur einem fernstehenden Judäer nahelegen musste, sondern die Einschätzung der Schiffe durch die Phönizier selbst widerspiegelt, wird durch die dort offenbar belegte metaphori-sche Rede vom "Sterben" (d.h. Kentern) von Schiffen<sup>(118)</sup> bzw. von der "Nacktheit" unbeladener Schiffe<sup>(119)</sup> nahegelegt.

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Protome nicht sichtbar sind. R. D. Barnett hat die Photographie eines Reliefs aus den Jahren 1903/5 publiziert, auf der bei zwei Schiffen eindeutig ein Entenkopf identifiziert werden kann: R. D. BARNETT, «Ezekiel and Tyre», *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969) 6-13, bes. Pl. I,2.

<sup>(114)</sup> P. E. BOTTA – E. FLANDIN, *Monument de Ninive*. T. I (Paris 1849) Pl. 29-35; P. ALBENDA, *The Palace of Sargon King of Assyria* (Synthèse no. 22; Paris 1986) 67, 122-123, 172, Pl. 20-23; vgl. DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 85; WÄFLER, *Nicht-Assyrier*, 95-96. Es handelt sich um die Darstellung des Transports von Bauholz aus Phönizien; wie DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 48 und das in der folgenden Anm. genannte Relief zeigen, sind die phönizischen Schiffe dann auch für die Flussschiffahrt in Assyrien verwendet worden.

<sup>(115)</sup> DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, Nr. 67.

<sup>(116)</sup> Zu den *hippoi* vgl. DE GRAEVE, *Ships*, bes. 123-128; STRÖMBERG-KRATZ, *Des Schiffes Weg*, 121. Nach dem Zeugnis der Schiffsmodelle (GÖTTLICHER, *Materialien, passim*) und bildlichen Darstellungen dominierten im östlichen Mittelmeerraum die Pferde-, im ägäischen Bereich Vogel-, im westlichen Mittelmeerraum Hirsch-, Capriden- und Rinderprotome.

<sup>(117)</sup> Vgl. G. BUNNENS, «Tyr et la mer», *Studia Phoenicia I-II* (OrLuvAn 15; Leuven 1983) 7-21, bes. 12-13.

<sup>(118)</sup> Vgl. *KTU* 2.38 (= *PRU* V 59 = *UT* 2059) 10-15: *ānykn...mtt by gšm ādr* "dein Schiff ist gestorben bei starkem Regen" (so z.B. SASSON, «Canaanite Maritime Involvement», 137; J. HOFTIJZER, «Une lettre du roi de Tyr», *UF* 11 [1979] 383-388, hier 386; anders zuletzt J.-L. CUNCHILLOS, *TO* II, 351-352 mit Anm. 8). *CAD* M/1 s.v. *mātu* (1.c) bietet zu dieser Wendung eine altbabylonische Parallele.

<sup>(119)</sup> Vgl. *KTU* 2.38,24-25: *ānyk tt by 'ky 'ryt* "dein Schiff ist nun in Akko stationiert, (und zwar) nackt (d.h. ohne Fracht)" (SASSON, «Canaanite Maritime Involvement», 137; HOFTIJZER, «Une lettre», 388; anders wiederum CUNCHILLOS, *TO* II, 351-352 mit Anm. 8).



## VI. Schluss

Die vorangehenden Ausführungen sollten deutlich gemacht haben, dass Ps 104,25-26 nicht mit ägyptischen Textparallelen erklärt werden kann, sondern traditionsgeschichtlich in der kanaanäisch-phönizischen Religion und Kultur verankert ist. Aber nicht nur für diese beiden Verse, für das ganze Corpus des Psalms (V. 1b-30\*) sollte m.E. eine Herkunft aus phönizischem Milieu erwogen werden. Dafür sprechen neben Leviathan und den Schiffen und dem Motiv des "Wolkenfahrers" in V. 3, das bisher erst in Texten aus Ugarit klare Parallelen gefunden hat<sup>(120)</sup>, gerade jene Details, die dem Psalm ein gewisses Lokalkolorit verleihen: die Hervorhebung des Libanon als Gottesgarten in V. 16<sup>(121)</sup> sowie die Aufteilung der Makrobiotope in die Bereiche "zwischen den Bergen" (V. 10-12), Bergland als fruchtbares Ackerland (V. 13-15), "hohe Berge" (V. 16-18) und Meer (V. 25-26) unter Auslassung von Hügelland und Küstenebene, was topographisch am ehesten den Gegebenheiten der phönizischen Küste zwischen Tyrus und Tripolis entspricht.

Ein ins 7.Jh.a datierendes Siegel mit der hebräischen Beschriftung *L'NYHW.BN. MYRB*, dessen Abdruck vor wenigen Jahren veröffentlicht worden ist<sup>(122)</sup>, zeigt ein mit Rundschilden bewehrtes Schiff mit Pferdeprotom am Vordersteven. Das Siegel belegt nicht nur die Bekanntschaft von Israeliten bzw. Judäern mit den phönizischen *hippoi*, es dokumentiert gleichzeitig die Faszination, welche solche Gefährte auf diese ausübten. Der Name des Siegelbesitzers bedeutet zwar zunächst einfach "Jahu ist meine Kraft"<sup>(123)</sup>, die Dekoration zeigt aber, dass dem Siegelbesitzer auch das Wortspiel "Jahu ist mein Schiff" plausibel erschien<sup>(124)</sup>, was eine ähnlich

<sup>(120)</sup> Vgl. O. LORETZ, «Baal, le chevauteur des nuées», *AAAS* 29-30 (1979/80) 179-188.

<sup>(121)</sup> Vgl. F. STOLZ, «Die Bäume des Gottesgartens auf dem Libanon», *ZAW* 84 (1972) 141-156.

<sup>(122)</sup> N. AVIGAD, «A Hebrew Seal Depicting a Sailing Ship», *BASOR* 246 (1982) 59-62.

<sup>(123)</sup> Belegt auch in der judäischen Inschrift von Ch. el-Qôm, Z. 4; vgl. A. LEMAIRE, «Les inscriptions de Khirbet el-Qôm», *RB* 84 (1977) 595-608, hier 602.

<sup>(124)</sup> Die Dekoration und das implizierte Wortspiel machen wahrscheinlich, dass der Name *'NYHW* nicht von einer Verbalwurzel נָח "begegnen" her verstanden werden sollte (gegen J.D. FOWLER, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew. A Comparative Study* [JSOTSS 49; Sheffield 1988] 146-147, 337).

positive Einstellung zur phönizischen Schifffahrt zu Meer voraussetzt, wie sie der Verfasser von Ps 104 in den V. 25-26 zu erkennen gibt.

Biblisches Institut  
Universität Miséricorde  
CH-1700 Fribourg

Christoph UEHLINGER

### SOMMAIRE

L'article examine les prétendus parallèles entre le Grand Hymne composé par le roi égyptien Echnaton en l'honneur d'Aton et le Ps 104; il en conclut que le Ps biblique ne dépend pas de l'hymne égyptien. La constellation des images «dieu créateur souverain — bateau — Léviathan», qui se trouve sur un sceau cylindrique paléo-syrien découvert à Tell el-Dab'a, montre que l'articulation des différents motifs de Ps 104,25-26 est au contraire ancrée dans la religion cananéophénicienne. L'association des bateaux aux «grands animaux» renvoie aux *hippoi* phéniciens.

## L'identificazione storica delle rovine di Umm er-Rasas – *Kastron Mefaa* in Giordania

Uno dei risultati più importanti della prima campagna di scavi condotti a Umm er-Rasas in Giordania nel 1986 dallo Studium Biblicum Franciscanum e dal Dipartimento delle Antichità, è stata l'identificazione storica delle imponenti rovine dell'altopiano transgiordano a nord del wadi Mujib – Arnon con *Kastron Mefaa*<sup>(1)</sup>. Il toponimo, che abbiamo letto tre volte nel mosaico della chiesa di Santo Stefano e una volta nella chiesa dei Leoni, era già noto agli studiosi dalle fonti storiche di epoca romano-bizantina e di epoca araba. L'*Onomasticon* infatti lo conosce come una località dell'Oltregiordania al margine della steppa, un *προούριον* – *praesidium* dell'esercito romano. Eusebio la identifica con la località biblica di *Mefa'at*, città della tribù di Ruben<sup>(2)</sup>. La *Notitia Dignitatum* pone *Mefa* tra i campi dipendenti dal *Dux Arabiae*, dove erano acuartierati gli *equites promoti indigenae*<sup>(3)</sup>. Lo storico arabo al-Bakry cita *Mayfa'ah* come un villaggio della Belqā' di Siria<sup>(4)</sup>.

Le rovine di Umm er-Rasas, il cui nome fu registrato dal primo esploratore del territorio transgiordano Ulrich Seetzen nel 1807,

(<sup>1</sup>) M. PICCIRILLO–T. 'ATTIYĀT, «The Complex of Saint Stephen at Umm er-Rasas – Kastron Mefaa. First Campaign, August 1986», ADAJ 30 (1986) 341-351, Pl. LXX-LXXVIII; «Le chiese e i mosaici di Umm er-Rasas–Kastron Mefaa» in M. PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba* (Jerusalem 1989) 269-308. La notizia della scoperta fu da me prontamente comunicata tramite padre A. Niccacci al *XII Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament* tenutosi a Gerusalemme dal 24 agosto al 2 Settembre del 1986 (A. NICCACCI, «Scoperto l'antico nome di Umm er-Rasas: Mefaa», *RivB* 35 [1987] 83-84).

(<sup>2</sup>) *Onomasticon* 128,21: «Mefaat... et alia est trans Iordanem in qua praesidium Romanorum militum sedet propter vicinam solitudinem». Eusebio elenca anche «Mofath regio Moabitarum, sicut in Jeremia legimus, posita est autem supra Mefaath» (*Onomasticon* 134,14).

(<sup>3</sup>) *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. O. SEECK) (Berolini 1876) 81, n. 19.

(<sup>4</sup>) AL-BAKRY, *Mu'jam ma ista'jam* (ed. Wüstenfeld) (Göttingen 1877) II, 569.

furono visitate per la prima volta da J. S. Buckingham nel 1816 e descritte con più cura da E. H. Palmer nel 1870 e da H. B. Tristram nel 1872<sup>(5)</sup>. Nel 1896 padre S. Vailhé riconobbe nelle rovine un *castrum*, un campo legionario romano<sup>(6)</sup>. Padre J. Germer-Durand, in una conferenza all'Ecole Biblique di Gerusalemme tenuta nello stesso anno, propose di vedervi il campo romano al margine della steppa dell'*Onomasticon* e perciò di identificare le rovine di Umm er-Rasas con la località biblica di *Mefa'at*<sup>(7)</sup>. L'identificazione fu accettata da qualche commentatore biblico che gravitava intorno all'Ecole Biblique, ma ben presto rifiutata dagli studiosi che invece fecero propria l'identificazione con Khirbet Nefa' proposta da Ch. Clermont-Ganneau. Lo scopo di questo articolo è di ripresentare i motivi che hanno condotto gli studiosi a rifiutare l'identificazione di Germer-Durand, e i motivi per cui, a nostro parere, l'identificazione di Umm er-Rasas – Kastron Mefaa con la *Mefa'at* biblica va riproposta sulle nuove basi toponomastiche fornite dalla nostra ricerca, o almeno non esclusa aprioristicamente, come qualcosa di impossibile<sup>(8)</sup>.

(5) U. J. SEETZEN, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder...* (Berlin 1854) II, 352f; J. S. BUCKINGHAM, *Travels among the Arab Tribes Inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine...* (London 1825) 104; E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus* (Cambridge 1871) II, 498-500; H. B. TRISTRAM, *The Land of Moab* (London 1874) 140-143. I testi principali degli esploratori fino al 1902 sono raccolti in R. E. BRÜNNOW-A. DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strassburg 1905) II, 63-72.

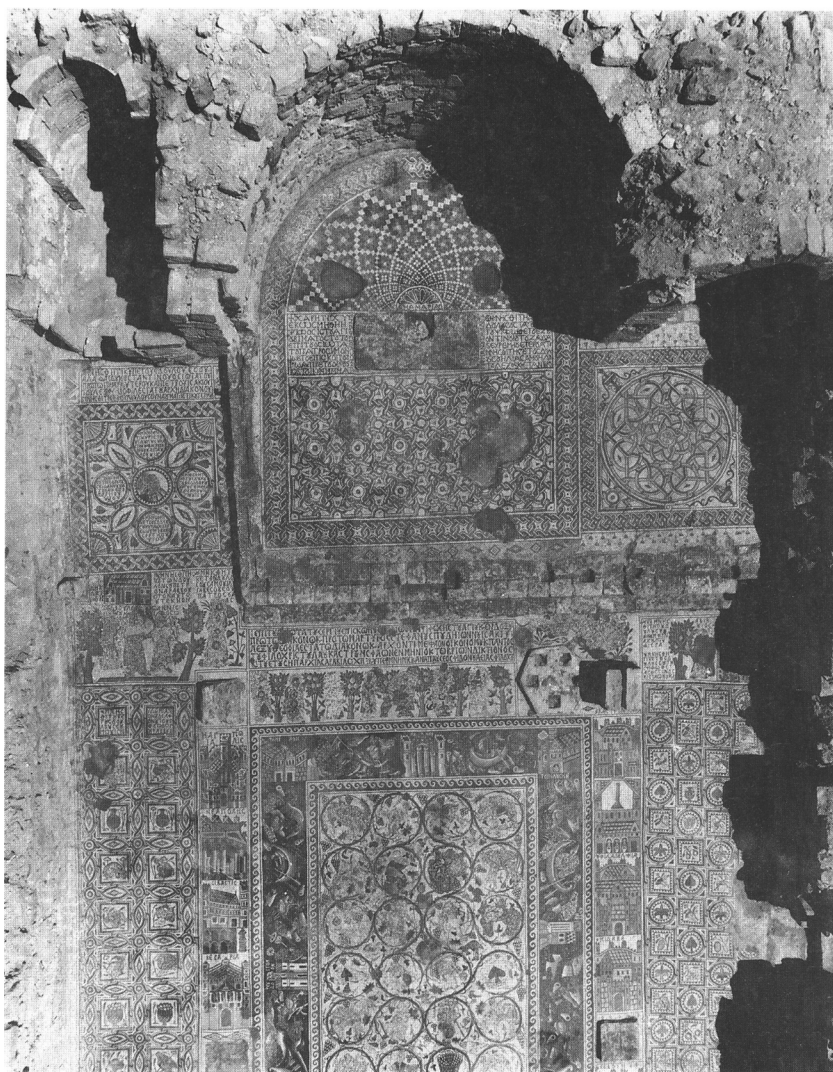
(6) S. VAILHÉ, «Dans les montagnes bleues», *Echos de Notre-Dame de France* (1896) 230: «La vue de ces ruines divisées si régulièrement fait penser à un camp romain, placé sur la lisière du desert...».

(7) J. GERMER-DURAND, «Frontières de l'Empire Romain en Arabie...», *Echos de Notre-Dame de France* (1897) 37 ss.: «Oum er-Rasas a été identifié, par un certain nombre d'exégètes, avec l'ancienne Mephaat de l'Ecriture, ville sacerdotale de la tribu de Ruben. L'Onomasticon la signale comme ayant une garnison romaine».

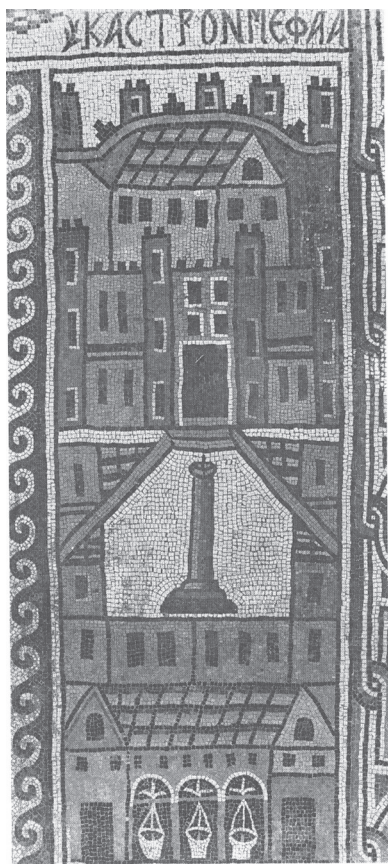
(8) L'argomento di questo articolo è stato oggetto di una conferenza pubblica tenuta il 30 marzo 1990 presso il Pontificio Istituto Biblico nell'ambito delle Joseph Gregory McCarthy Lectures: «L'identificazione delle località bibliche del Mishor Moab alla luce delle recenti scoperte (Gs 13,17-21; Ger 48,21-24)».



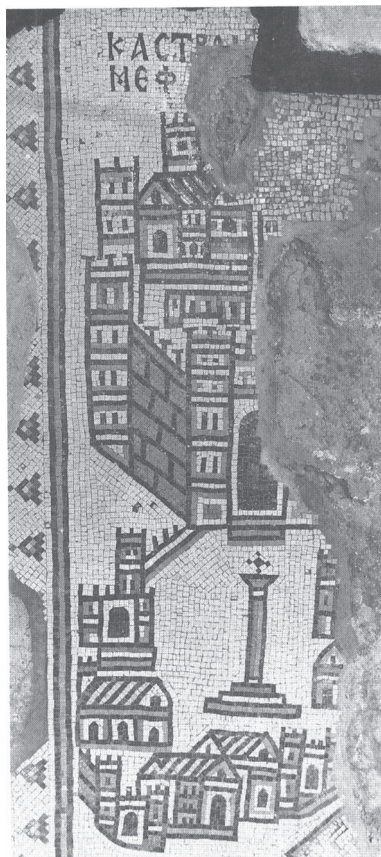
Umm er-Rasas – Kastron Mefaa. Veduta aerea del castrum quadrangolare e del quartiere settentrionale fuori le mura.



Umm er-Rasas – Kastron Mefaa. Veduta aerea dell'area orientale della chiesa di Santo Stefano con le iscrizioni dedicatorie e le vignette di città.

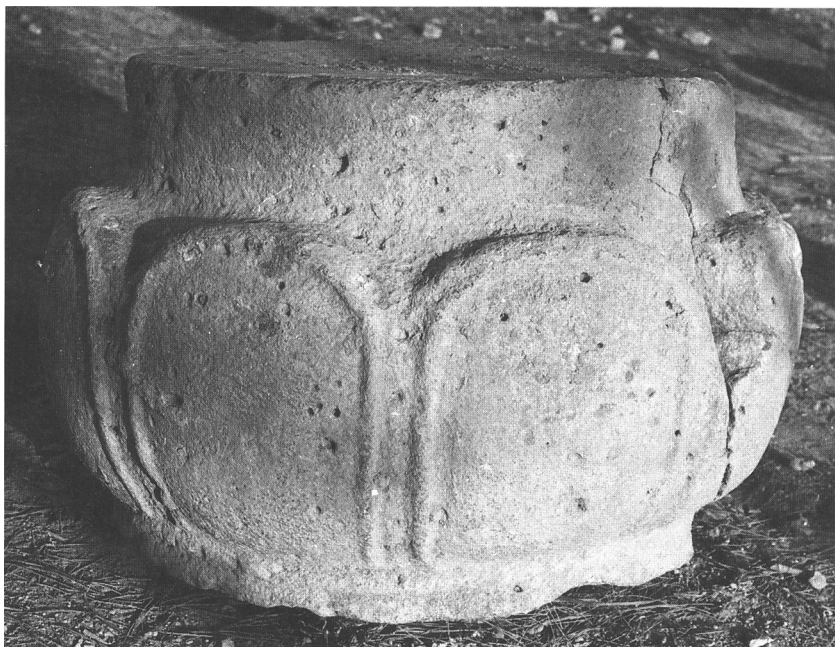


La doppia vignetta di Kastron Mefaa nel mosaico della chiesa di Santo Stefano (VIII sec. d.C.).

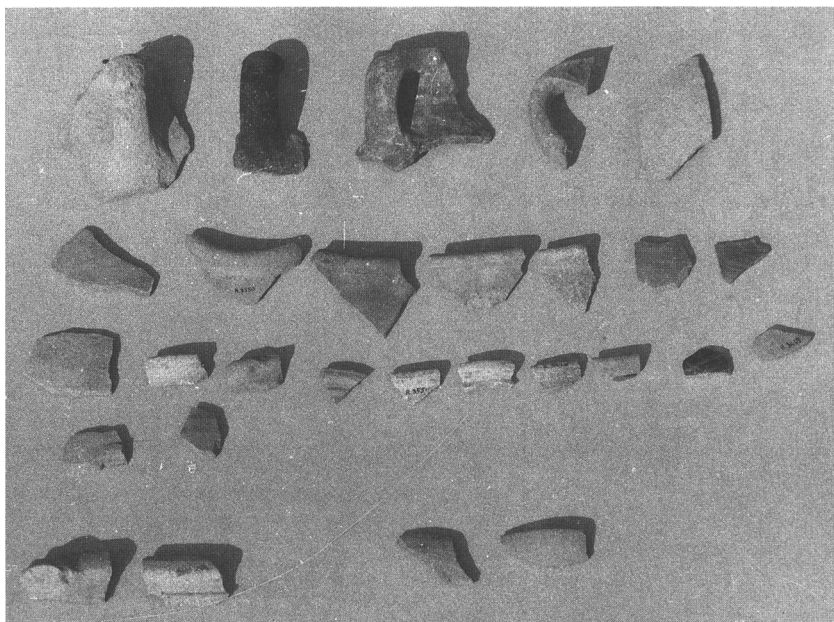


La doppia vignetta di Kastron Mefaa nel mosaico della chiesa dei Leoni (VI sec. d.C.).





Elemento architettonico pre romano-nabateo riutilizzato nella chiesa del Vescovo Sergio.



Frammenti ceramici di epoca pre romana-nabatea ritrovati sotto il lastricato dell'ambiente M del complesso di S. Stefano.



## I. Le rovine di Umm er-Rasas

Le rovine di Umm er-Rasas occupano una elevazione naturale dell'altopiano transgiordanico a nord del wadi Mujib – Arnon, in posizione centrale tra la Strada dei Re e la Strada del Deserto, a 30 km a sud-est di Madaba (237 101 Palestinian Grid). Sono composte da un'area fortificata chiusa all'interno di un muraglione con contrafforti, e da un quartiere sviluppatosi all'esterno, a nord del muro di cinta, per una superficie totale di circa 10 ettari. L'indagine archeologica, iniziata nel 1986 in un edificio ecclesiastico sul limite settentrionale del quartiere nord, si è estesa nel 1989 all'interno dell'abitato<sup>(9)</sup>. Alla nostra spedizione, si è affiancata nel 1988 una missione svizzera che ha finora esplorato due chiese abbinate all'interno delle mura<sup>(10)</sup>.

Per quanto riguarda il nostro argomento, i risultati più importanti provengono dalla chiesa di Santo Stefano e dalla chiesa dei Leoni, sempre nel quartiere nord fuori le mura. Nella iscrizione dedicatoria in greco del mosaico pavimentale di epoca omayyade che corre lungo il gradino del presbiterio rialzato, il toponimo ricorre due volte: Ἰσακίου ἄρχοντι Μεφαων, nella terza linea, e παντὸς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ Κάστρου Μεφαων nella quarta linea. Nell'iscrizione abbiamo letto: «Al tempo del santissimo vescovo Sergio fu terminato il mosaico del santo e illustre protodiacono e protomartire Stefano, a cura di Giovanni (figlio) di Isacco Lexos, amatissimo da Dio, diacono e *arconte dei Mefaoniti*, economo; e di tutto il popolo amante di Cristo del campo dei Mefaoniti, nel mese di ottobre dell'indizione 2a dell'anno della Provincia Arabia 680, per il ricordo e il riposo di Fidonos (figlio) di Aeias amante di Cristo»<sup>(11)</sup>. Inoltre il toponimo Κάστρον Μεφαα è aggiunto in alto alla doppia vignetta di città che occupa il primo posto tra le vignette di città transgiordani- che che decorano gli intercolumni meridionali della chiesa<sup>(12)</sup>. Il to-

<sup>(9)</sup> Notizie preliminari della terza e quarta campagna in «Ricerca storico-archeologica in Giordania» (a cura di M. PICCIRILLO), *SBFLA* 38 (1988) 449-470; *SBFLA* 39 (1989) 266-268.

<sup>(10)</sup> J. BUJARD-M.-A. HAALDIMANN, «Fouilles de la Mission Archéologique Suisse (Fondation Max Van Berchem) à Umm er-Rasas et Umm el-Walid en 1988», *ADAJ* 32 (1988) 101-113, Pl. XVI-XVIII.

<sup>(11)</sup> M. PICCIRILLO, «Le iscrizioni di Um er-Rasas – Kastron Mefaa in Giordania I (1986-1987)», *SBFLA* 37 (1987) 177-239.

<sup>(12)</sup> PICCIRILLO, «Le iscrizioni», 192, fig. 3.

ponimo è ripetuto uguale in una seconda vignetta dello stesso tipo che decora l'intercolumnio settentrionale nei pressi del presbiterio della chiesa dei Leoni che abbiamo iniziato a scavare durante la quarta campagna nell'estate del 1989. Dal confronto delle due vignette, risulta chiaro che i mosaicisti hanno voluto raffigurare sinteticamente la realtà topografica di *Kastron Mefaa* – Umm er-Rasas. Nella vignetta in alto, che ripete lo schema di una città con cinta di mura turrita, è raffigurata l'area all'interno delle mura. Nella vignetta aggiuntiva in basso il mosaicista ha raffigurato il quartiere fuori le mura caratterizzato in entrambe le vignette da una colonna che s'innalza solitaria al centro di una piazza dell'abitato.

Come per la vicina città di Madaba<sup>(13)</sup>, il nome antico della località di Umm er-Rasas, *Kastron Mefaa*, ci è stato conservato dalle iscrizioni aggiunte dai mosaicisti ai programmi decorativi delle chiese. Di conseguenza cade come infondata l'identificazione proposta da Ch. Clermont-Ganneau all'inizio del secolo e accettata con troppa precipitazione e pressapochismo critico dagli studiosi posteriori.

## II. *Kastron Mefaa* non è Khirbet Nefa'a ma Umm er-Rasas

Il problema dell'identificazione di *Mefa'at* fu riproposto nel 1901 con il solito acume e su nuove basi da Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, l'editore della Stele di Mesha<sup>(14)</sup>. L'orientalista riteneva insufficiente la proposta di identificazione storica suggerita da padre Germer-Durand, perché alle rovine di Umm er-Rasas mancava un presupposto toponomastico importante, il nome antico. Nome che invece doveva esistere nell'area perché era conosciuto dai geografi arabi almeno fino al XIV sec. È il dato nuovo che, con grande fiducia ed entusiasmo, Clermont-Ganneau porta alla discussione. Come in altre fortunate occasioni, tipo Gezer e Hippos – Susita, città da lui identificate grazie alla lettura delle fonti arabe, i geografi arabi potevano dimostrarsi anche in questo caso risolutivi. «J'emprunte cet élément d'information à une source inépuisable et toujours trop né-

<sup>(13)</sup> Il nome della città e degli abitanti di Madaba ricorre tre volte nei mosaici: ἐν Μηδαβοῖς nel cortile della cattedrale (PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba*, 30); τοῦ φιλωχρίστου λαοῦ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Μιδαβων, nella chiesa della Vergine (ibid., 47), Μηδαβα (ibid., 57).

<sup>(14)</sup> Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, «La ville lévitique de Mēphaat», *RAO* 4 (1901) 57-60.

gligée par les protagonistes de la haute exégèse biblique: les géographes arabes». L'autore dei *Marāṣid el-Ittilā'* conosce il nome di *Mayfa'ah* come un villaggio della Belqā' di Siria: «Selon moi — conclude lo studioso — c'est lettre pour lettre le nom de notre Mēphaat biblique et, de plus, la région concorde absolument. J'en conclus...». Restava soltanto da trovare il nome nella toponomastica locale, compito che lo studioso lasciava con molto ottimismo agli esploratori della regione, mettendo loro in mano una chiave, secondo lui, risolutiva, «une clef qu'ils n'ont plus, pour ainsi dire, qu'à faire tourner dans la serrure».

La chiave restò in mano sua e fu lui stesso «a farla girare nella serratura» l'anno dopo<sup>(15)</sup>. L'opportunità gli venne offerta dalla lettura dell'itinerario seguito dal sacerdote Alois Musil nell'esplorazione del Moab condotta negli anni 1896-1902. Nell'itinerario, a sud di Amman, Clermont-Ganneau legge un nome che somiglia a quello cercato, Nêfa', e vi riconosce immediatamente il toponimo arabo. Dopo aver sunteggiato la nota precedente, aggiunge felice in una nuova nota del 1902: «Events were not long in proving the justice of my remarks, since, as a matter of fact, I now notice in a short itinerary quite recently published by Dr. Alois Musil... a placename which appears to me the required toponym: Nêfa'». Con la N, non con la M. Una difficoltà da nulla. Solo una storpiatura in bocca dei beduini<sup>(16)</sup>. La conclusione è chiara: «It is there, accordingly, that it seems fitting, in my opinion, to localise the Meifa'a of the ancient Arab geographers, the Mefa of the Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani, the Mefa'at of the Onomasticon, and finally the biblical Mepha'at».

Nel frattempo, la prima nota del 1901 era giunta a conoscenza di Musil, che si affrettò a scriverne allo studioso francese dandogli i dettagli omissi nel breve itinerario pubblicato: lo spelling del nome, come pure l'esatta distanza da Amman<sup>(17)</sup>. Nell'opera finale dedicata all'esplorazione stampata a Vienna nel 1907, Musil pubblicò tutti

<sup>(15)</sup> Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, «Archaeological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine», *PEFQS* (1902) 260-261.

<sup>(16)</sup> «The name has merely undergone a slight alteration (N = M) in the mouth of the Bedawin, of which the vulgar dialects of Syria offer us more than one example» (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, «Palestine», 260).

<sup>(17)</sup> Ibid., 261, nota 2: «Nêfa' is a misprint for Nêfa».

i dettagli desiderati relativi all'anonima rovina da lui visitata assunta inaspettatamente agli onori della storia<sup>(18)</sup>. Sul sito si potevano vedere muri di origine romana e cisterne. Rovine che in qualche modo erano in relazione con la vicina collina di Jawa, una specie di acropoli rispetto alla città bassa, che si estendeva sulle pendici settentrionali. Insieme Jawa e Nefa' costituivano agli occhi dell'esploratore una località strategicamente situata al confine con il deserto, che corrispondeva perfettamente ai dati storici romani, arabi e biblici presupposti dall'identificazione di Clermont-Ganneau.

A questo punto una breve ricerca bibliografica può aiutarci a situare storicamente il futuro di questa identificazione, così sapientemente costruita.

Nel 1896, R. E. Conder, dopo aver citato l'opinione di Eusebio nell'*Onomasticon*, scrive: «This might be the real site, but it is unknown»<sup>(19)</sup>. Nel 1908, l'identificazione di Clermont-Ganneau viene accettata dal *Dictionnaire de la Bible* a cura di F. Vigouroux. Nella voce *Méfaath*, L. Heidet suntegge i due interventi dello studioso considerandoli definitivi<sup>(20)</sup>. Nel 1933, A. Alt ripropone la doppia identificazione di Musil dopo una visita alla località di Nefa' - Jawa<sup>(21)</sup>: Khirbet Nefa' è identificata con Mefaa di epoca romano-araba, Khirbet Jawa, con ceramica più antica, è identificata con la *Mefa'at* biblica. M. Noth accetta questa distinzione e identificazione nel commento al libro di Giosuè edito nel 1937<sup>(22)</sup>. Nella sua esplorazione della regione del 1934, N. Glueck ricorda solo Jawa, dove incontra ceramica del Ferro I e del Ferro II<sup>(23)</sup>. Inoltre, dalla visita delle rovine di Umm er-Rasas, l'esploratore aveva concluso che il sito in gran parte di epoca bizantina non andava oltre l'epoca nabatea, dando così un colpo definitivo all'ipotesi di Germer-Durand<sup>(24)</sup>. L'identificazione diventa normativa quando F.-M. Abel l'accetta nella sua *Géographie Biblique* edita nel 1938: «Mepha'at... survit dans le Kh. Nefa'a au nord-est d'Hesban. Le site an-

(18) A. MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea*, I, *Moab* (Wien 1907) 352 s.

(19) R. E. CONDER, «The Onomasticon», *PEFQS* (1896) 241.

(20) F. VIGOUROUX, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, IV (1908) 978 s.

(21) A. ALT, «Das Institut im Jahre 1932», *PJ* 29 (1933) 28-29.

(22) M. NOTH, *Das Buch Josua* (Tübingen 1937) 129.

(23) N. GLUECK, *Explorations of Eastern Palestine* (*AASOR* 4; 1934) 4.

(24) GLUECK, *Explorations*, 39.

cien serait, d'après Alt, à tell Jawa à 10 kilomètres au sud de Amman, où les vestiges d'un mur de ville et de la céramique remontent à la fin du bronze et aux deux phases du F. I»<sup>(25)</sup>. Per questa nota padre Abel cita Musil, Alt e Glueck. I successori e nostri contemporanei non fanno che adeguarsi e ripetere spesso con le stesse parole, perciò copiando, quanto già abbiamo letto<sup>(26)</sup>. Tale identificazione viene accettata senza un riesame approfondito anche da geografi biblici, per i quali l'identificazione di *Mefaa't* con Khirbet Nefa' – Jawa diventa un punto importante della delimitazione del confine settentrionale del territorio della tribù di Ruben<sup>(27)</sup>. Dal coro si distaccano solo H. G. Reventlow e A. Kuschke, il quale la definisce una identificazione molto problematica<sup>(28)</sup>.

<sup>(25)</sup> F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris 1937) 385.

<sup>(26)</sup> D. BALDI, *Giosuè* (Torino 1956) 110, nota 18; J. SIMONS, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden 1959) 118; M. OTTOSSON, *Gilead. Tradition and History* (Lund 1969) 123; R. BOLING-G. E. WRIGHT, *Joshua* (AB 6; Garden City, NY 1982) 342.

<sup>(27)</sup> Z. Kallai, l'ultimo nella serie dei commentatori, per il quale *Mefaa't* diventa un punto fisso della trattazione del territorio di Ruben e di Gad, mette in luce tutte le incongruenze di una tale localizzazione data per scontata (Z. KALLAI, *Historical Geography of the Bible. The Tribal Territories of Israel* [Jerusalem 1986] 261: «One should also take into account the fact that Mephaat, the northernmost of the cities at the margin of the desert, is situated to the north-east of Heshbon according to the identification with H. Jawah. This site is ten kilometers south of Rabbath Ammon, contains a suitable archaeological find, and near it is H. Nefa'ah, which evidently preserves the ancient name of the site». Con la conclusione ovvia di p. 268: «Thus, in its eastern part, the northern border of Reuben ascends in a northeastern direction... The continuation of the border should be drawn in an east-north-east direction so as to position inside Reuben's allotment H. Jawah which is identified with Mephaat... This delineation of the border, which is founded on the identification of H. Jawah with Mephaat, makes it more difficult to accept the proposed identification of Jazer with el-Yadudeh. Agreeing with such a proposal would effect a strange meandering of the border, since el-Yadudeh is situated to the south-west of H. Jawah. It thus becomes necessary to find a different site for Jazer»).

<sup>(28)</sup> H. G. REVENTLOW, «Das Ende der ammonitischen Grenzbefestigungskette?», *ZDPV* 79 [1963] 127-137, nota 28; A. KUSCHKE, «Historisch-topographische Beiträge zum Buche Josua», *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land* (FS. Hertzberg; [Hrsg. H. G. REVENTLOW] Göttingen 1965) 92.

Il risultato più importante del nostro scavo a Umm er-Rasas, dal punto di vista storico-geografico, resta per ora l'identificazione delle rovine con Kastron Mefaa, uno dei punti forza dello schieramento dell'esercito romano-bizantino nella regione al confine con la steppa<sup>(29)</sup>. Ora sappiamo che Kastron Mefaa delle fonti romane e arabe non è Khirbet Nefat, ma le rovine di Umm er-Rasas circa 60 km più a sud.

Archeologicamente, per il periodo tardo-romano, abbiamo finora una iscrizione pubblica in latino, la scultura di un agnello in rilievo forse parte di un architrave, resti architettonici come basi e colonne di origine non bizantina, e monete dello stesso periodo. Da un sondaggio stratigrafico effettuato in un'area a sud della chiesa di Santo Stefano, nei pressi di una cisterna, risulta una occupazione umana che va dal periodo nabateo-romano all'epoca omayyade-abbaside. Al periodo bizantino-omayyade e primo periodo abbaside sono da riferire: il complesso di Santo Stefano con le quattro chiese che ne fanno parte restatate in uso fino al periodo dell'abbandono, probabilmente nel IX sec. d.C., la chiesa dei Leoni e le due chiese abbinate finora esplorate all'interno del *castrum* dalla missione svizzera<sup>(30)</sup>.

### III. Kastron Mefaa – Umm er-Rasas è la *Mefa'at* biblica?

Dall'identificazione delle rovine di Umm er-Rasas con la località di Kastron Mefaa, basata sul nome della località che possiamo leggere nei mosaici delle sue chiese, viene a cadere, perciò, la pregiudiziale critica sulla quale è basato il rifiuto da parte di Clermont-Ganneau della proposta di padre Germer-Durand<sup>(31)</sup>. Conseguentemente dovremmo concludere che, avendo ritrovato il nome della località di epoca romano-bizantina-araba, anche il toponimo biblico di *Mefa'at* è localizzato. In realtà questa conclusione non si

<sup>(29)</sup> S. Th. PARKER, *Romans and Saracens. A History of the Arabian Frontier* (AASOR; 1986) 37-48.

<sup>(30)</sup> ADAJ 33 (1989).

<sup>(31)</sup> In base alla nostra scoperta, l'identificazione biblica di *Mefa'at* con Umm er-Rasas viene accettata da P. KASWALDER, *La disputa diplomatica di Iefte* (Gdc 11,12-28). *La ricerca archeologica in Giordania e il problema della conquista* (Jerusalem 1990) 236-238; e da J. A. DEARMAN, «Levitical Cities of Reuben», *BASOR* 276 (1989) 55-66.

impone di per sé, anche se è venuta a mancare la difficoltà maggiore. Resta ancora da chiarire e superare l'argomento archeologico che apparentemente si oppone a questa identificazione.

Infatti, dalla prospezione di superficie condotta da N. Glueck non risultava a Umm er-Rasas un insediamento più antico del periodo nabateo<sup>(32)</sup>. La conclusione sembra in gran parte confermata dai risultati dei primi quattro anni di scavo sia della nostra missione sia della missione svizzera. In questo caso sarebbe confermata l'opinione dei commentatori di Eusebio che vedono nell'*Onomasticon* un documento importante di geografia della regione per l'epoca tardo-romana, e soltanto una fonte secondaria per la geografia biblica<sup>(33)</sup>. La località di Kastron

<sup>(32)</sup> N. GLUECK, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, I (AASOR 14 [1934] 39 s.): «Large quantities of Byzantine sherds were found. It is to the Byzantine period that most of the ruined site belongs. A small number of mediaeval Arabic sherds were also found. That there was however, also, a pre-Byzantine occupation of the site is attested by several pieces of sigillata ware which were picked up».

<sup>(33)</sup> Il valore delle identificazioni bibliche dell'*Onomasticon* è stato giudicato in vario modo. Clermont Ganneau: «Il est vrai que les dires de l'*Onomasticon* ne doivent pas être acceptés comme paroles d'évangile, et que, plus d'une fois, ses auteurs se laissent prendre au mirage d'homonymies superficielles» (*RAO* 2 [1898] 194). L'orientalista esprimeva questo giudizio a proposito di *Louhit*, dall'*Onomasticon* posta tra Areopolis e Segor e da Clermont-Ganneau spostata nella regione di Madaba. La scoperta dei papiri di Nahal Hever ha confermato però l'esattezza dell'*Onomasticon* (Y. YADIN, «The Nabataean Kingdom, Provincia Arabia, Petra and en-Geddi in the Documents from Nahal Hever», *Ex Oriente Lux* 17 [1963] 227-241). Più sfumato il giudizio di Conder: «The *Onomasticon* cannot be received as authority for identification, because its suggestions in many cases are irreconcilable with the Bible. In many cases, however, Jerome appears to accept Jewish traditions, which are sometimes correct. The greatest value lies, however, in its witness to the survival of the Hebrew nomenclature of the country in the fourth century, even more perfectly preserved than now» (CONDER, «The *Onomasticon*», 229). Cfr. inoltre: P. THOMSEN, «Palästina nach dem *Onomasticon* des Eusebius», *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina Vereins* (1903) 145-187; C. U. WOLF, «Eusebius of Caesarea and the *Onomasticon*», *BA* 27 (1964) 66-96: «It is for the 4th century that the *Onomasticon* can be taken as a primary source, although with further literary criticism and archaeological comparison it may be a primary source for earlier centuries... He provides us with a contemporary knowledge of 4th century Palestine and Transjordan. Eusebius asserts that 200 some sites were inhabited in that time, and for these Eusebius is a primary source for the historical geography of the Holy Land» (95).

Mefaa da noi ritrovata sarebbe stata identificata da Eusebio con *Mefa'at* per semplice omonimia con il toponimo biblico<sup>(34)</sup>.

#### IV. *Mefa'at* nella Bibbia

Il toponimo *Mefa'at* compare in Gs 13,18; 21,37; 1 Cr 6,64; Ger 48,21, in relazione con il territorio della tribù di Ruben e con le località dell'altopiano di Moab che si estende a nord dell'wadi Mujib – Arnon conosciuto dagli autori biblici con il nome di *mishor* (Dt 3,10)<sup>(35)</sup>. Il testo più dettagliato riguardante il territorio tribale è Gs 13,16-21.23. Letterariamente, la pericope è composta da una descrizione di territorio («da Aroer... fino a Madaba», v. 16; tutto il *mishor* compresa la città di Heshbon, v. 17a), e da una lista di città (vv. 17b-20)<sup>(36)</sup>. L'elenco di «tutte le città che sono sul *mishor*» può essere integrato per lo stesso territorio con altri nomi che ricorrono in Ger 48,18-21; Nm 32,34.37; e negli oracoli profetici contro Moab (Is 15-17; Ger 48). In questi testi, *Mefa'at* ricorre con *Yahša* e *Qedemot*. Le tre città, con l'aggiunta di *Bešer*, sono indicate come le quattro città levitiche di rifugio della tribù transgiordanica in Gs 21,37 e 1 Cr 6,63-64, due testi con una tradizione testuale un po' travagliata.

In base alle identificazioni dei numerosi toponimi del *mishor*, il geografo biblico può permettersi di tracciare una carta del territorio tribale. Finora, l'identificazione comunemente accettata di diversi toponimi del *mishor*, si basa in massima parte sulla conservazione del nome antico<sup>(37)</sup>. Gli esploratori del secolo scorso, a cominciare da Ulrich Seetzen nel 1807, poterono raccogliere dalla viva voce dei beduini della regione gli antichi nomi ancora legati ai tell della regio-

<sup>(34)</sup> M. NOTH, «Die Topographischen Angaben im Onomasticon des Eusebius», *ZDPV* 66 (1943) 32-63. Naturalmente, in base all'identificazione di *Mepha'at* con Kh. Nefa' accettata dall'esegeta, la localizzazione di Eusebio per *Mepha'at* è posta tra «die ganz allgemeinen und völlig unzureichenden Angaben...», so sind damit sämtliche Angaben Eusebs über zu seiner Zeit bestehende Orte Vorgelegt».

<sup>(35)</sup> OTTOSSON, *Gilead*, 113.

<sup>(36)</sup> Cfr. OTTOSSON, *Gilead*, 118-126; SIMONS, *The Geographical Texts*, 114-119; KALLAI, *Historical Geography*, 260 s.

<sup>(37)</sup> Cfr. la lista delle città con le loro identificazioni in SIMONS, *The Geographical Texts*, 117-118; OTTOSSON, *Gilead*, 123-124; A.H. VAN ZYL, *The Moabites* (Leiden 1960) 61-101.



ne: Khirbet 'Ara'ir per 'Aro'er, Tell Dhiban per *Dibon*, Khirbet Jimeil per *Bet Gamul*, Tell 'Atarus per 'Atarot, Qurayat per *Qiryataim*, Ma'in per *Bet Ba'al Ma'on*, Madaba, Jebel Nebo per *Nebo* (Khirbet el-Mukhayyat), Tell Hesban per *Heshbon*, Khirbet el-'Al per *El-'Aleh*<sup>(38)</sup>.

Perciò il territorio della tribù di Ruben si estende dall'Arnon o da Dibon (accettando come testimonianza di una precisa situazione storica la notizia di Nm 32,34 che ne esclude 'Aro'er), fino a Heshbon compresa, e dal deserto a *Bet Ieshimot* che è nella valle del Giordano ai piedi del monte Nebo.

Nella carta del territorio tribale, così delineata, per mancanza di una identificazione sicura, resta però aperto e indeciso il confine orientale, dove i testi biblici citati invitano a localizzare le quattro città levitiche e di rifugio, nella zona di passaggio tra la terra coltivata e la steppa. In Gs 20,8 e 1 Cr 6,63, infatti, si indica *Beşer* «nel deserto del *mishor*». Nel deserto si trovano anche *Qedemot* (Dt 2,26) e *Yahşa* (Dt 2,32). La proposta di Clermont-Ganneau di identificare *Mefa'at* con Khirbet Nefa' – Jawa ha colmato questa lacuna, incontrando, come abbiamo visto, degli entusiasti e concordi sostenitori<sup>(39)</sup>. Nella serie di città sul confine orientale, *Mefa'at* – Khirbet Nefa' è diventata così la località più settentrionale del territorio di Ruben. Con la conseguenza però di portare, con poca verosimiglianza storica, il territorio tribale all'interno del territorio ammonita, trovandosi Khirbet Nefa' – Jawa ad appena 10 km a sud di Amman<sup>(40)</sup>.

<sup>(38)</sup> Scavi archeologici regolari sono stati condotti finora sul tell di Dhiban (F. V. WINNETT–W. L. REED, *The Excavations at Dibon in Moab*, Part I: *The First Campaign 1950-51*; Part II: *The Second Campaign 1952*, [AASOR 36-37; 1954]); sul tell di 'Ara'ir (E. OLAVARRI, «Sondages à 'Aro'er sur l'Arnon», *RB* [1965] 77-94) e tell Hesban (R. S. BORAAS–S. H. HORN, *Heshbon 1968* [AUSS 7; 1969] 97-239; *Heshbon 1971* [AUSS 11; 1973] 1-144; *Heshbon 1973* [AUSS 13; 1975] 101-247; R. S. BORAAS–L. T. GERATY, *Heshbon 1974* [AUSS 14; 1976] 1-216; *Heshbon 1976* [AUSS 16; 1978] 1-303).

<sup>(39)</sup> Cfr. Map N. 4 in KALLAI, *Historical Geography*.

<sup>(40)</sup> Cfr. l'opinione di H. G. REVENTLOW in *ZDPV* 79 (1963) 127-137, nota 28 in particolare. Tell Jawa si trova praticamente all'altezza di tell el-'Umeiri, dove recentemente è stata riportata alla luce una cittadella ammonita (L. T. GERATY, «Madaba Plains Project. A Preliminary Report of the 1984 Season at Tell el-'Umeiri and Vicinity», *BASOR Supl* 24 [1986] 117-124; 26 [1990] 59-88). Anche tell Jawa, dopo la prima campagna di sca-

L'identificazione di *Mefa'at* con *Kastron Mefaa*, proposta da Eusebio, ha, se non altro, il vantaggio di evitare una simile incongruenza geografica e di lasciare la località nel suo contesto meridionale, a nostro parere più aderente sia ai dati biblici che pongono a sud-est *Qedemot* e *Beşer*, sia alla Stele di Mesha che ricorda la conquista di *Beşer* e di *Yahša* nella regione di Dibon e di Madaba<sup>(41)</sup>.

Sul piano archeologico, anche se resta finora valida la conclusione dell'esplorazione di Glueck, abbiamo già qualcosa di nuovo. All'interno della chiesa del Vescovo Sergio, nell'angolo di sud-ovest, è ubicata la bocca di una cisterna con vera in pietra. Ad ovest della vera, fu costruito un poggiatoio per le anfore riutilizzando una base o capitello arcaico di spoglio in basalto decorato con una corolla di petali<sup>(42)</sup>. L'elemento architettonico è estraneo all'ambiente stilistico nabateo e romano. Trova paralleli invece in monumenti di epoca del Ferro<sup>(43)</sup>. Se la datazione da noi proposta è giusta, questo elemento architettonico è già di per sé di grande importanza storica perché rimanda ovviamente ad un edificio monumentale esistente nell'area in un periodo anteriore all'epoca nabateo-romana.

## V. Conclusione

La recente riscoperta archeologica della località di *Kastron Mefaa* in località Umm er-Rasas a 80 km. a sud di Amman, conosciuta dalle fonti tardo-romane e arabe, come prima conseguenza storica, induce a correggere l'errata identificazione con *Khirbet Nefa'*, a 10 km a sud di Amman, proposta da Clermont-Ganneau all'inizio del secolo e accettata dagli esegeti che vi avevano visto anche la località biblica di *Mefa'at*. La scoperta riporta in causa la localizzazione di *Kastron Mefaa* con la località biblica di *Mefa'at* già proposta da Eusebio nell'*Onomasticon* e ripresentata da padre Germer-Durand alla fine del secolo scorso.

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vi del 1989, risulta una località ammonita, almeno durante il periodo del Ferro II (R.W. YOUNKER-P.M. DAVIAU, «Is Mefa'at to be found at tell Jawa (South)?», manoscritto presentato per la pubblicazione alla Direzione dell'*Israel Exploration Journal*, comunicatomi dagli Autori).

<sup>(41)</sup> J. LIVER, «The Wars of Mesha, King of Moab», *PEQ* 99 (1967) 14-31.

<sup>(42)</sup> Foto in PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba*, 275.

<sup>(43)</sup> Cfr. la base del baldacchino nei pressi della porta di tell Dan in Galilea datata al IX sec. a.C. (A. BIRAN, «Tel Dan», *BA* 37 [1974] 46, figg. 19-20).

Il riesame dei testi biblici, non esclude di identificare *Kastron Mefaa* da noi ritrovata sull'altopiano transgiordamico con *Mefa'at*, la città levitica e di rifugio ricordata con *Qedemot*, *Yahša* e *Bešer* nella steppa sul confine orientale del territorio della tribù di Ruben. L'identificazione anzi evita le incongruenze territoriali insite nella proposta di localizzazione di Clermont-Ganneau.

Questa riproposta di identificazione finora però non è suffragata sufficientemente dall'argomento archeologico, perché la località di *Kastron Mefaa* – Umm er-Rasas risulta abitata in periodo nabateo-romano e bizantino-arabo, anche se un elemento architettonico in basalto riutilizzato nella chiesa del Vescovo Sergio rimanda a un edificio monumentale di epoca più antica.

Siamo coscienti che la nostra scoperta ha il merito di avere reindicato la giusta direzione alla ricerca storico-archeologica di epoca romano-araba che una scoperta fortuita di Musil riletta dall'entusiasmo di Clermont-Ganneau aveva fatto perdere di vista. L'identificazione di *Mefa* e *Mayfa'ah* romano-araba con *Khirbet Nefa'* non è soltanto un increscioso infortunio scientifico (*aliquando dormitat Homerus*). Può diventare positivamente una ulteriore salutare lezione di sana prudenza metodologica nel proporre nuove identificazioni, e nel far proprie acriticamente posizioni comunemente accettate dagli studiosi.

Nello stesso tempo, facendo fiducia all'*Onomasticon* di Eusebio, siamo persuasi che questa è la giusta direzione anche per l'identificazione del toponimo biblico, malgrado la difficoltà archeologica che non sottovalutiamo<sup>(44)</sup>. Convinti pure che solo la continuazione della ricerca archeologica a *Kastron Mefaa* – Umm er-Rasas e negli altri numerosi siti del *mishor* Moab sia in grado di dare una valida risposta a questo problema e alle domande di identificazione biblica che ancora restano *sub iudice*. Continuare a ripetere o a proporre le più disparate identificazioni intercambiabili per siti senza nome, è un'accademia che ci possiamo risparmiare. Se ne avvantaggerà la ricerca scientifica e la verità.

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Jerusalem

Michele PICCIRILLO

<sup>(44)</sup> Valga in questo caso la mia esperienza personale di scavo. In lunghi anni di ricerca tra le case e le chiese di Madaba, mai ci è capitato di incontrare ceramica del periodo pre nabateo-romano. L'unico materiale del Tardo Bronzo e del Ferro proviene dalle tombe della necropoli (Cfr. PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba*, 316 s.).

## Nota aggiuntiva

## Ceramica del Ferro II a Umm er-Rasas – Kastron Mefaa

Un sondaggio in profondità lungo la parete meridionale della chiesa del Cortile, nell'ambiente M della pianta generale del complesso di Santo Stefano a Umm er-Rasas, ha ridato il primo lotto di frammenti ceramici di epoca pre nabateo-romana. La trincea sotto il pavimento lastricato dell'ambiente M cambiato in cappella in epoca omayyade, era stata aperta durante la IV campagna nell'estate 1989 in relazione con la porta ovest d'ingresso al cortile sottostante la quale risultava bloccata e in parte interrata. I frammenti ceramici provengono da un livello sottostante al pavimento in battuto in relazione con la soglia della porta. La frammentarietà e l'esiguità dei pochi frammenti di vaso del caratteristico impasto e lucidatura del periodo del Ferro già individuati durante la IV campagna ci avevano sconsigliato di insistere sulla scoperta. Con l'allargamento della trincea durante la V campagna dell'estate 1990, il numero dei frammenti si è notevolmente accresciuto.

Al termine della campagna ne abbiamo inventariati una trentina per lo più orli di ceramica ad uso domestico. Le tipologie più rappresentate sono le brocche e le brocchette a orlo chiuso (nn. R. 3443, 3543, 3551, 3706, 3708, 3737-41, 3751), crateri e anfore (nn. R. 3444, 3733, 3994, 4060). Meno rappresentate sono le forme aperte come ciotole e piatti (nn. R. 3735, 3734,

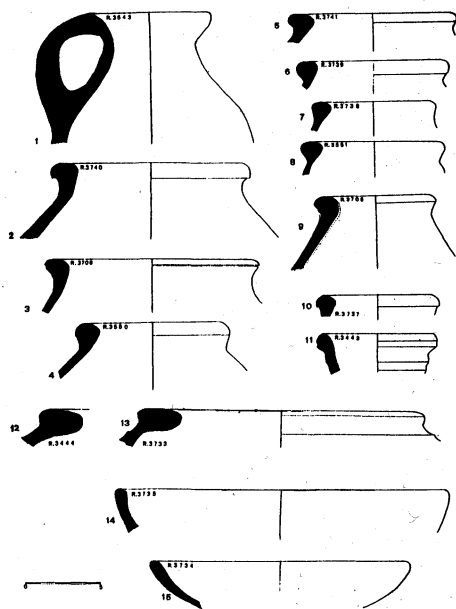


Fig. 1

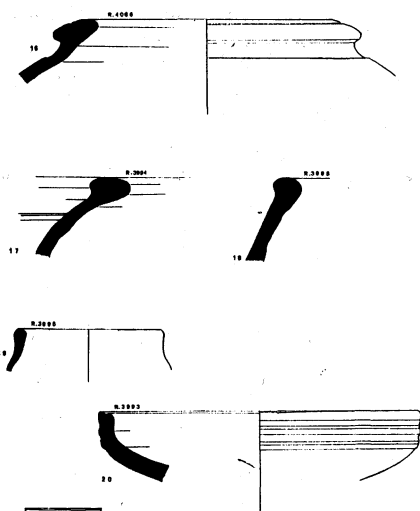


Fig. 2.

3993). Forme e spessore degli orli e dei frammenti delle pareti dei vasi rimandano a tipologie già note del periodo finale del Ferro II (VII sec. a.C.) e di passaggio al periodo Persiano. Da un esame sommario gli impasti e la cottura mostrano caratteristiche di qualità superiore alle tipologie del Ferro II ritrovate nelle tombe di Khirbet el-Mukhayyat sul Monte Nebo (S. Saller, «Iron Age Tombs at Nebo, Jordan», SBFLA 16 [1966] 165-298).

Viene così a cadere la difficoltà archeologica più seria che finora si opponeva alla identificazione delle rovine di Umm er-Rasas – *Kastron Mefaa* di epoca romano-bizantina omayyade con la località moabita di Mepha'at.

I frammenti ceramici in questione erano frammisti a ceramica di epoca più tarda bizantino-omayyade, non costituendo perciò un dato indicativo per la storia occupazionale dell'ambiente M nel quale è stata aperta la trincea.

Michele PICCIRILLO

#### SUMMARY

This article shows that new archaeological evidence allows us to identify the *Kastron Mefaa* (mosaic inscription) in Jordan with Umm er-Rasas and not with Khirbet Nefa'a, as was thought by archaeologists since Clermont-Ganneau (1901). As a result, we suggest as possible the identification of Umm er-Rasas – *Kastron Mefaa* with the biblical *Mefa'at* (cf. Josh 13,17-21; Jer 48,21-24), following the suggestion of Fr. Germer-Durand from the Assumptionist convent of Notre-Dame de France in 1896.

# ANIMADVERSIONES

## Le Psaume de Jonas (Jonas 2,2-10) Une catabase biblique, sa structure et sa fonction

Le Livre de Jonas offre au lecteur les apparences d'un conte folklorique, populaire et merveilleux: agréable suspense, péripéties imprévisibles, auxiliaires magiques (la fameuse « baleine »), peu de psychologie mais des actions rondement menées, dans un style simple, avec un vocabulaire restreint — le mot « grand »; *gadol* revient 14 fois en 39 versets; à dire vrai, plutôt que de héros authentique, le personnage humain principal mérite le titre de « faux-héros », et l'œuvre entière sera justement définie comme une « anti-légende de saint » — ici, de: prophète<sup>(1)</sup>. Or le récit est interrompu, des versets 2 à 10 du chapitre 2, par un poème fermement rythmé qu'on a appelé « le psaume de Jonas », en contraste total avec le ton du narrateur qui suit le précepte de Boileau: « Soyez vif et pressé dans vos narrations »; dans le psaume, c'est plutôt le « Soyez riche et pompeux dans vos descriptions » qui conviendrait! A la fruste mélodie de la flûte berbère succèdent les accords de l'orgue, puissants et solennels; de la naïve simplicité d'un conte de Grimm, pimenté toutefois d'une malice voltairienne, on passe au lyrisme romantique d'une *Harmonie* de Lamartine. De plus, le Jonas qui est censé s'exprimer dans le poème profondément religieux, voire dévot, n'a rien de commun avec le rebelle du premier chapitre ni avec le contestataire du quatrième: y aurait-il donc deux Jonas? Question inévitable pour les nombreux commentateurs du Livre biblique, à laquelle je m'efforcerai de répondre par une analyse littéraire précise du chapitre 2<sup>(2)</sup>.

### *Poursuite et secours*

Et YHWH dépêcha un grand poisson pour avaler Jonas, et Jonas fut dans les entrailles du poisson trois jours et trois nuits (v. 1).

... Et YHWH commanda au poisson, qui vomit Jonas au sec (v. 11).

Résumons la première partie des aventures du prophète. Chargé d'une mission par son maître divin, il l'a refusée; la ville, Ninive-la-grande, dont il devait annoncer la destruction, il lui a tourné le dos pour s'enfuir à l'oppo-

(1) A. JOLLES, *Formes simples* (trad. française; Paris 1977) 46-49: « l'anti-légende ».

(2) Dernier article en date: P. WEIMAR, « Jonapsalm und Jonaerzählung », *BZ* 28 (1984) 43-68. Cf. tous les commentaires: M. DELCOR, in *La Sainte Bible*, Tome VIII (Paris 1961); D. STUART, *Hosea-Jonah* (WBC 31; Waco, TX 1987); H.-W. WOLFF, *Dodekapropheten 3. Obadja und Jona* (BKAT XIV/3; Neukirchen 1977), etc.

sé, comme si James Bond, désigné pour Moscou, partait à New York pour s'y cacher. En termes structuraux, il a commis un méfait, rompant le contrat qui le liait à son Destinateur en raison de sa vocation prophétique<sup>(3)</sup>: crime inouï en Israël! «Rien d'autre que la mort n'était capable d'expier son forfait». YHWH va donc le poursuivre en usant de moyens extraordinaires: un «grand vent», une «grande tempête», la désignation du coupable par le tirage au sort. Jonas est jeté à la mer et doit périr noyé, châtement mérité, juste punition.

Il n'en est rien; la poursuite est suivie sans tarder par le secours<sup>(4)</sup>, et c'est YHWH lui-même qui joue de ces deux fonctions, successivement persécuteur et sauveur. Là encore, il utilise un auxiliaire magique<sup>(5)</sup>, le «grand poisson» qui avale Jonas. Cette fameuse baleine de la tradition, on l'a tellement calomniée!... On l'a qualifiée de «monstre (grand!) chaotique...»<sup>(6)</sup>, qui «...représente en effet le chaos mortel, l'océan épouvantable; le poisson, c'est l'enfer, lieu abominable...»<sup>(7)</sup>. Ces lignes s'appliqueraient bien à *Moby Dick*, la baleine blanche, réelle et mythique à la fois, héroïne du célèbre roman d'Herman Melville, nullement à l'animal biblique, qui ne joue pas le rôle de l'agresseur des contes populaires. Ce n'est pas le Dragon qui retient captive Andromède et que doit combattre Persée, ni celui qui avale Jason, lequel s'en délivre à grands efforts. Ce n'est pas le «Pesce-cane» à la gueule horrible et bien pourvue de dents qui épouvante Pinocchio, bien que le séjour de ce dernier dans son ventre dérive probablement du Livre saint, ni la «baleine en colère» de Jacques Prévert. Ce n'est pas non plus, en dépit de termes identiques, dans l'histoire de Tobie, le «grand poisson» émergeant des eaux du Tigre, qui menace «d'avaler» le jeune garçon (Tb 6,2). L'animal dépêché par YHWH ne dévore pas le prophète, mais le sauve des flots en le recueillant et le conserve dans son intimité protectrice, berceau plutôt que tombeau; il le transporte — gratuitement, alors que Jonas avait dû payer le voyage aller (v. 3 du ch. 1), — et le ramène enfin au rivage. Il est bien inoffensif, cet animal domestique, cet instrument de la Providence, qui obéit à son maître au doigt et à l'œil, comme, jadis, l'ânesse de Balaam ou le corbeau d'Elie.

Il convient en effet d'établir une différence entre l'avaleur et le dévoreur; si le second démembre, le premier ne détériore pas: «L'avalé ne subit pas un malheur véritable, il garde une valeur», dit Gaston Bachelard, qui, après Karl Abraham<sup>(8)</sup> rappelant les deux stades de l'enfance, la succion et

<sup>(3)</sup> Je me réfère à A. J. GREIMAS, qui systématise V. PROPP, *Morphologie du conte*. (Paris 1965) dans *Sémantique structurale* (Paris 1966). Dans *Sémiotique et Bible* (n° 7, septembre 1977) 30-40, l'«Approche du Livre de Jonas» est assez décevante.

<sup>(4)</sup> Deux fonctions couplées, trop souvent négligées, alors qu'elles forment l'ossature initiale de bien des récits; cf. P. LARIVAILLE, «L'analyse (morpho) logique du récit», *Poétique* 19 (1974) 371.

<sup>(5)</sup> PROPP, *Morphologie*, 51 s.; GREIMAS, *Sémiotique*, 180, pour le modèle actantiel mythique.

<sup>(6)</sup> D. Lys, compte-rendu de l'ouvrage de V. MORA, *Jonas* (Paris 1981), dans *ETR* (1982) 109.

<sup>(7)</sup> A. KELLER, dans son Commentaire de Jonas, in: *Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament* (Genève 1965) 277.

<sup>(8)</sup> K. ABRAHAM, «Le Jour du Grand Pardon», in *Essais de Psychanalyse appliquée, Oeuvres Complètes*, tome II (Paris 1966) 187, assimilant l'annulation de l'Allian-

la manducation, affirme: «La Baleine de Jonas et l'Ogre du Petit Poucet pourraient servir d'image à ces deux stades... La victime engloutie par la première image est à peine effrayante quand on la compare à la seconde»<sup>(9)</sup>. Parler du «complexe de Jonas» — tel est le titre d'une section de l'«ouvrage de Bachelard»<sup>(10)</sup> —, c'est évoquer «le repos gynécologique dans le giron maternel»<sup>(11)</sup>, une hibernation temporaire marquée par un nombre parfait: «Trois jours et trois nuits», chiffre de plénitude<sup>(12)</sup>. Victor Hugo l'avait bien compris, qui rapproche le fameux poisson d'un gros éléphant de bois dans lequel vivent trois orphelins: «Les deux hôtes de Gavroche éprouvèrent quelque chose de pareil... à ce que dut éprouver Jonas dans le ventre biblique de la baleine... Cela servait à accueillir l'innocent que la société repoussait...»<sup>(13)</sup>.

C'est en ce sens que la tradition chrétienne post-pascale a rapproché le séjour de Jonas dans le ventre du gros poisson de celui du Fils de l'Homme dans le cœur de la terre «trois jours et trois nuits» (Mt 12,40), notation positive indubitablement; le «signe de Jonas» est un gage d'espérance: après le péril viendra le salut.

### *Le Psaume de Jonas*

v. 2-3 Et Jonas pria YHWH son dieu des entrailles du poisson, et il dit:

Dans mes tribulations j'ai crié vers YHWH,  
et il m'a répondu  
du ventre de Shéol j'appelai au secours,

v. 4 Dans les profondeurs, au cœur de la mer Tu m'avais projeté  
le Fleuve m'enserrait;

Tes flots, tes tourbillons, tous ont passé sur moi,

v. 5 Et moi, je me disais: serai-je rejeté  
de devant Ton regard?

Comment contemplerai-je encore Ton Saint Temple?

v. 6 Elles m'environnaient, les Eaux, jusqu'à la gorge,  
l'Abîme m'enserrait

l'algue était enroulée tout autour de ma tête.

v. 7 Aux racines des monts,

j'étais donc descendu au Pays souterrain

dont les verrous sont faits de barres éternelles.

Tu m'as fait remonter de la fosse, vivant,

ô Toi, YHWH mon dieu!

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ce avec Dieu par la communauté, la veille du Yom Kippour, à l'acte de révolte de Jonas, «révolte contre le dieu-père».

<sup>(9)</sup> G. BACHELARD, *La terre et les rêveries du repos* (Paris 1948) 157.

<sup>(10)</sup> BACHELARD, *La terre*, 157.

<sup>(11)</sup> G. DURAND, *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire* (Paris 1969) 227 s.

<sup>(12)</sup> Note du Chanoine Osty, à propos du verset 1, chapitre II, dans sa traduction de la Bible (Seuil 1973).

<sup>(13)</sup> Victor HUGO, *Oeuvres romanesques «Les misérables»* (Paris 1962). 1631-1632.



- v. 8    Quand en moi défaillait la vie,  
    je me souvins de YHWH  
       Ma prière est allée vers Toi en Ton Saint Temple.
- v. 9    Ceux qui servent l'idole vaine  
    abandonnent l'Amour
- v. 10   Moi, aux accents de louange,  
    je veux T'offrir des sacrifices  
       Les vœux que j'ai formés, je les veux accomplir;  
    par YHWH le Salut!

### *Une catapse biblique*

Ce « psaume » est un centon, tissé de versets empruntés au Psautier canonique; on y reconnaît des formules devenues clichés: « J'ai crié vers YHWH, il m'a exaucé... Il a entendu ma voix... Je vouerai des vœux... J'ai levé mes yeux vers le Saint Temple... etc. ». Je noterai, au regard de chaque verset, les emprunts les plus flagrants:

- |                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| v. 3 = Ps 18,7; 120,1            | (identique) |
| v. 4 = Ps 24,2; 42,8             | (identique) |
| v. 5 = Ps 31,23                  | (identique) |
| v. 6 = Ps 18,5; 69,2             | (identique) |
| v. 7 = Ps 30,4                   |             |
| v. 8 = Ps 107,5; 42,5; 88,3; 5,8 |             |
| v. 9 = Ps 31,7                   | (identique) |
| v. 10 = Ps 42,5; 3,9             | (identique) |

De plus, tel ou tel Psaume est proche du nôtre par le vocabulaire; ainsi le Ps 88: « Que ma prière vienne devant Toi... Les vagues m'environnent... elles m'enserrent... Shéol... fosse ».

Or cette accumulation d'expressions relevant du même champ sémantique de la noyade — ou plongée dans les abîmes sous-marins — crée une atmosphère particulière, et, avec ces pièces rapportées, le compilateur a réussi une œuvre qui se tient; c'est grâce à une structure sous-jacente qui relie et unifie ces éléments, celle d'un archétype mythique: la *catapse*, c'est-à-dire une descente aux enfers et une ascension céleste, diptyque qui constitue en outre une phase capitale du schéma de l'initiation.

Dans la version grecque des Septante, le noyau de cette structure apparaît clairement: « *kateben - anabeto* » (... « descendu » — « remonter », versets 6 et 7); un espace est ainsi créé: deux mouvements opposés, allant d'un extrême à l'autre: du plus profond du cosmos, des Enfers (*erets* = le pays souterrain) au plus haut du ciel, dans la demeure de la Divinité (« en Ton Temple sacré »); de même, moralement, le héros passe de la plus extrême détresse à la jubilation de la louange; il était mort et il revit. Après le « De Profundis », l'« Alleluia » dans le Temple. Entraînés par ces mouvements, voici des figures et des symboles du monde infernal: Shéol, Mers, Fleuve, Eaux, flots, tourbillons, Abîme, pays-souterrain, fosse, et le monde céleste: Temple Saint, accents de la louange, vœux et sacrifices, YHWH dieu; nous

sommes en plein dans un mythe, conformément à une de ses définitions: «Un système dynamique de symboles, d'archétypes et de schèmes, système dynamique qui, nous l'impulsion d'un schème, tend à se composer en récit»<sup>(14)</sup>. Même si les éléments divers ne sont pas rigoureusement ordonnés, on peut néanmoins distinguer dans le poème un engloutissement dans la mer qui aboutit à la réclusion dans une cité-prison; puis une remontée vers les hauteurs, anticipée par celle de la prière, «allée vers YHWH en (son) Temple Saint».

### *La descente infernale*

C'est d'abord une descente, qui s'accroît en chute vertigineuse, une immersion depuis la surface marine jusqu'aux «racines des montagnes»; les eaux montent jusqu'à la gorge, puis submergent le naufragé; des tourbillons l'aspirent, des algues le paralysent, ainsi que des liens que le Psaume 116 appelle «liens de la Mort», (ou «liens de Shéol» dans le Ps 18,7). On sait que le candidat à l'initiation doit errer dans un labyrinthe: ici, il demeure passif, paralysé, c'est le labyrinthe lui-même qui est mobile, le brassant dans un maëlstrom puissant; le voilà entouré, enserré, enlacé par les Eaux, le Fleuve, l'Abîme, synonymes pour la même entité. Il souffre donc les tortures (les «tribulations»)<sup>(15)</sup> promises aux novices, appelées par les Grecs *sparagmos*, ou démembrement du corps, étouffement, étranglement, asphyxie, à quoi s'ajoute l'angoisse morale («cum angustaretur in me anima mea», traduit Saint Jérôme), à mesure que le malheureux s'éloigne de son dieu, se voyant «rejeté de devant ses yeux».

Il est «assailli par des Monstres», conformément au processus indiqué par Mircea Eliade: «Les monstres de l'abîme se rencontrent dans nombre de traditions: les héros, les initiés descendent au fond de l'abîme pour affronter les monstres marins; c'est l'épreuve typiquement initiatique»<sup>(16)</sup>. Voici Shéol (ou: la Shéol, du sexe féminin), qui l'avale dans son ventre, monstre évident chez Isaïe: «Le Shéol dilate son gosier et ouvre sa gueule démesurément» 15,4), le Shéol identique à la Mort<sup>(17)</sup>, ventre infernal, bien différent de l'accueillante baleine! Identiques encore le Fleuve (*nahar*), la Mer<sup>(18)</sup>, l'Abîme ou *Tehom*, en qui l'on devine le Tiamat, personnification de la Mer primordiale dans le poème babylonien de la Création, l'*Enuma Elish*: «Moumou Tiamat qui enfanta tous les monstres...». Pire que des monstres j'allais dire: ordinaires, le Jonas du Psaume rencontre Le Monstre essentiel, à plusieurs noms, à plusieurs têtes, comme une hydre redoutable, une gigantesque pieuvre<sup>(19)</sup>.

<sup>(14)</sup> DURAND, *Imaginaire*, 64.

<sup>(15)</sup> Vulgate: «... de tribulatione mea ...».

<sup>(16)</sup> M. ELIADE, *Le sacré et le profane* (Paris 1965) 115.

<sup>(17)</sup> Cf. Ps 16,10: «Tu n'abandonneras pas mon âme au Shéol, tu ne laisseras pas ton fidèle voir la fosse» (= le tombeau). Os 13,14: «De la main du Shéol je les libérerai, de la Mort je les rachèterai».

<sup>(18)</sup> G. BACHELARD, *L'eau et les rêves*, (Paris 1942) 75-76: «...l'eau, substance symbolique de la mort...».

<sup>(19)</sup> ELIADE, *Sacré*, 44-45: «... le Monstre marin, le Serpent primordial, symbole des Eaux cosmiques, des Ténèbres, de la Nuit, de la Mort (...) C'est du corps du

Enfin, au terme de la descente, au cœur des Mers, aux racines des monts, voici le royaume souterrain, l'intérieur de la terre, les enfers, pays de la Mort, la terre-sans-retour (« pour toujours »), cité-prison, aux portes fortifiées, munies de barres et de verrous, comme dans le Ps 107,16: « battants de bronze, verrous de fer »; la figure se retrouve dans l'Évangile, qui parle des « portes de l'Hadès », (*pulai Hadou* - Mt 16,18), et dans la tradition littéraire de la catabase; ainsi Virgile: « Moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro / Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae » (*Enéide*, Livre VI, 549,552); ainsi Dante, qui décrit les murailles de fer de la cité de Dite. C'est au poète italien que pourrait être empruntée la devise à inscrire au fronton des Enfers de Jonas: « Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate ». Comment, séparé de son dieu, le captif pourrait-il espérer sa délivrance?

### *L'ascension céleste*

Or les portes de la prison se sont ouvertes, le reclus a été libéré, le mort est revenu à la vie: « Tu m'as fait remonter de la fosse, vivant ». Non seulement à la surface de la terre, dans le monde familier; mais dans un espace sacré (*qodesh*), un sanctuaire, le Temple de Jérusalem, équivalent du Ciel, puisqu'il est la « demeure » de YHWH, son « marchepied » (Ps 142,7)<sup>(20)</sup>; quelle ascension!: des racines des monts jusqu'à leur sommet le plus élevé, la sainte montagne de Sion! Le malheureux a pu accéder à ce haut lieu où sa prière l'avait devancé: « Ma prière est allée vers Toi en Ton Saint Temple »; son désir a pu être comblé, le désir de « contempler »: c'est l'*epopteia* dont, au terme de leurs épreuves, étaient favorisés les initiés dans les Mystères d'Eleusis, vision sacrée, hiérophanie, ultime phase de leur itinéraire.

Il se livraient entre temps à des activités rituelles dans l'enceinte du sanctuaire; c'est ce que fait — par la pensée ou réellement? — le ressuscité du Psaume: pendant que résonnent de joyeux Hallel, il offre ces victimes, « rend des vœux », c'est-à-dire consacre à la divinité des objets de prix, peut-être même sa personne, ce qui répondrait bien au but de l'initiation: un changement profond et radical du sujet qui lui fait quitter sa vie naturelle pour une sur-vie particulière dans l'intimité des dieux. Le dialogue du Psaume anticipe cette union mystique, entre un JE et un TU qui se répondent; non, l'orant n'abandonnera pas l'Amour (ou la Tendresse, ou la Confiance, ou la Fidélité, ou la Grâce — autant de traductions données ici) pour des « néants d'inanité », qu'il a peut-être servis jadis: faut-il voir dans ce rappel celui d'une faute passée? Désormais, il ne veut plus que vivre « sous le regard » de son dieu, le voir et être vu (« mon » dieu; v. 7).

« Son dieu », terme du voyage dans l'Au-delà, fut également le guide, la psychopompe, « qui l'a fait remonter de la fosse », l'a sauvé. Et le dernier

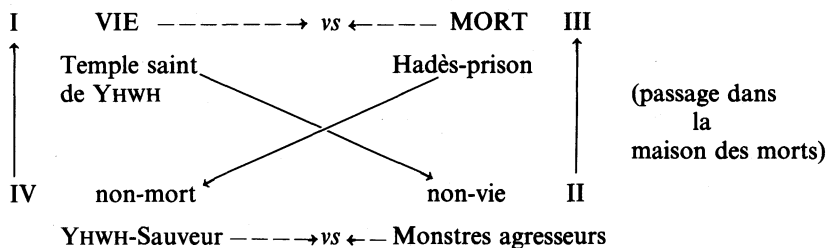
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monstre marin Tiamat que Marduk façonna le monde. Jahvé créa l'Univers après sa victoire contre le monstre primordial Rahab... ».

<sup>(20)</sup> ELIADE, *Sacré*, 53-54: « ...Le judaïsme a hérité cette conception paléorientale du Temple comme une copie d'un archétype céleste... lieu saint par excellence, maison des dieux, le Temple resanctifie continuellement le Monde... le plan architectural du Temple est l'œuvre des dieux et, par conséquent, se trouve tout près des dieux, au Ciel ».

mot du poème n'est autre que celui de « délivrance », comme le dernier mot du *Soulier de Satin*: « Délivrance aux âmes captives ».

C'est par cette place capitale de YHWH que la catabase doit être qualifiée de biblique; de là vient également le fait que le mythique soit discret, comme d'ailleurs dans les Psaumes, mais les figures comme Shéol, Tehom, Terre-prison sont plus que des créations verbales, et la structure en tout cas est bien celle d'un mythe. Si l'une des fonctions de ce dernier est... « de resoudre sur le plan symbolique les antinomies vécues comme difficilement conciliables au niveau réel »<sup>(21)</sup>, il convient de les mettre en relief successivement: d'abord l'opposition foncière entre MORT et VIE, dont le récit mythique tranche justement le dilemme; ces thèmes sont exprimés par des figures: le monde infernal vs le monde céleste, et, de façon plus concrète encore, par la Cité-prison vs le Temple-sacré; le sujet est assailli par des Monstres, animaux aquatiques, et secouru par un Sauveur, *Agresseur* et *Adjuvant* fermant alors le couple des sub-contraires et jouant un rôle de médiateurs:



Le mouvement de la catabase va du poste I au poste II, puis aboutit au poste III celui de la MORT; celui de l'anabase part du poste III, et par l'intermédiaire du poste IV, parvient au poste I, celui de la VIE définitive, c'est-à-dire consacrée: «... Il ne s'agit pas uniquement de l'annulation de l'état initial, mais d'une acquisition supplémentaire, d'un nouvel état qui est le résultat d'une sorte de développement en spirale »<sup>(22)</sup> — L'initiation, ou: comment vaincre la mort!

### *Le conteur et le poète*

C'est un procédé courant dans la Bible que l'insertion, dans un récit en prose, de style bas, d'un morceau poétique, en vers et en strophes, empruntant ses thèmes et ses figures à la littérature hymnique et sapientiale; ainsi le cantique d'Anne, mère de Samuel (1 Sam 2,10); ainsi le « Magnificat » (Lc 1,40 s), centons tout comme le Psaume de Jonas; le héros de l'histoire est alors magnifié, son aventure universalisée. Mais, dans le cas présent, la greffe semble moins réussie, l'opposition trop forte entre le conte et le poème.

Le premier demeure à la surface des choses, à ras-de-terre, ou, mieux: au ras des flots, alors que le second plonge dans les profondeurs sous-mari-

<sup>(21)</sup> Cl. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris 1958) 229.

<sup>(22)</sup> E. MÉLÉTINSKI, « L'étude structurale et typologique du conte », dans *Morphologie du conte*, 215.

nes, dans les profondeurs de la destinée humaine: la mort et la vie. Jeu puéril de la fantaisie dans un cas, troublant cauchemar dans l'autre. Le conteur désacralise, le poète mythifie. Comme le dit bien Chouraqui<sup>(23)</sup>: «Le surnaturel est ici apprivoisé», tandis que, là, il domine, ainsi que l'infra-naturel, le monde céleste s'opposant au monde infernal. Je ne puis, comme certains l'on fait<sup>(24)</sup>, retrouver dans la narration le scénario initiatique; la tempête qui assaille le fuyard n'est pas à proprement parler une épreuve, encore moins l'avalage par le grand poisson: ce ne sont là que *Poursuite et Secours*, ni catabase, ni rencontre d'un monstre; Jonas est jeté à la mer, non dans les enfers. S'il y avait eu initiation, le sujet aurait dû en être transformé: or il n'en est rien: lui qui, anti-héros, était ballotté par les événements et pris au piège de ses contradictions, le voilà, au chapitre quatre, bloqué dans la contestation; ce sont les Ninivites qui ont changé, eux, les pécheurs, qui reviennent au bien et suivent des rites sacrés, le jeûne et le port des habits de deuil. L'autre Jonas, celui du Psaume, a une tout autre stature, type de l'homme qui revient de la Maison des Morts pour s'unir à la divinité qui l'a secouru et qui apparaît, pour ainsi dire, un consacré. Il y a bien deux Jonas, même si la Tradition les a très vite confondus<sup>(25)</sup>.

#### *Des parents (et un enfant) terribles*

On a souvent comparé le Jonas du dernier chapitre au frère aîné du prodigue de l'Évangile<sup>(26)</sup>, ce qui invite à considérer l'histoire entière comme celle de relations conflictuelles entre un père et son fils; quant au Psaume, vu son caractère mythique, il appelle le recours à la psychologie des profondeurs<sup>(27)</sup>.

YHWH peut être désigné comme le Père symbolique de Jonas, alors que ce dernier possède un père réel, Amittai; il est le même que celui de la parabole évangélique, «Dieu de tendresse et de miséricorde, lent à la colère et riche en grâce (ou: en amour). Père symbolique: «instance qui n'est pas réductible aux avatars du père réel et qui promulgue la Loi...»<sup>(28)</sup>. Dès le premier mot du récit, il s'impose comme une Parole («*debar* YHWH»), puis se manifeste comme le Maître de l'univers, ce que tous vont reconnaître, le héros comme les matelots.

<sup>(23)</sup> Traduction de la *Bible*, commentaire sur Jonas, son introduction (Paris 1974).

<sup>(24)</sup> C. HERNANDEZ, «Temas iniciáticos en el libro de Jonas», *Anales Valentinianos* (1975) 271-286; cf. M. ELIADE, *Mythes, rêves et Mystères* (Paris 1957) 268, évoquant l'aventure de Jonas.

<sup>(25)</sup> Comme l'avait dit, voilà déjà fort longtemps, Gunkel, cité par DELCOR, *Jonas*, 274: «...Il est assez habituel que le danger de mort soit décrit sous la forme d'un voyage au Shéol où les âmes des morts sont conduites à travers les grandes eaux. Un auteur tardif a pris à la lettre cette description et l'a placée à cet endroit (= Jonas, chapitre II, versets 2-10), alors qu'elle s'harmonise peu au contexte».

<sup>(26)</sup> J. A. DIAZ, «Paralelos entre la narración del Libro de Jonás y la parábola del hijo pródigo», *Bib* 40 (1959) 632-640.

<sup>(27)</sup> «L'on sait que le symbolisme implicite dans l'histoire de Jonas a vivement intéressé les psychologues des profondeurs, surtout le professeur Jung et le Dr Neumann...», ELIADE, *Mythes*, 268.

<sup>(28)</sup> Selon la définition de Jacques Lacan, recueillie par LAPLANCHE et PONTALIS, *Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse* (Paris 1967) 476.

Or ce fils a refusé d'obéir à un ordre paternel, et, craignant à juste titre, la colère que son acte doit provoquer, s'enfuit, coupe les ponts, s'éloigne de la maison familiale, la terre d'Israël. Vainement, puisque le Père va le poursuivre et le ramener, forcé contraint, auprès de lui. Les deux fonctions essentielles du récit invitent à retrouver dans l'histoire du premier chapitre les phases du déroulement de l'Œdipe telles qu'elles ont été proposées par Mélanie Klein<sup>(29)</sup>.

D'abord la position *persécutrice*: le fils prête à son Père des traits agressifs, et, comme Caïn, veut échapper à ce regard accusateur: «loin de la Face de YHWH» (deux fois répété). Il connaît, simultanément, la position *dépressive*: alors qu'on l'invite à se lever (*qoum* «lève-toi», v. 1), il «descend» (*yarad*), d'abord à Joppé, puis dans le bateau (v. 3), puis «au fond du bateau» (v. 5); un pas de plus; il plonge dans un profond sommeil, tâchant ainsi d'oublier le conflit avec son père, de le nier; cette catatonie est l'indice d'un malaise profond, et le bateau peut être considéré comme un symbole du sein maternel, où l'enfant retrouve la paix d'avant la naissance. Le chef de l'équipage remet le fugitif en face de son conflit, puisqu'il en appelle au Père même que fuit Jonas: «ton Elohim» (v. 6). Les matelots, eux, ont un Père, vers lequel ils crient dans leur détresse; lui ne semble pas en avoir, orphelin solitaire, à part des autres; mais, finalement, le voici contraint de le reconnaître, un Père dominateur et tout-puissant. Sa dépression va jusqu'au désir de mort, au point qu'il accepte, et même qu'il demande d'être jeté à la mer, reconnaissant d'être puni, masochisme qui répond au sadisme attribué au Père persécuteur<sup>(30)</sup>.

A cette auto-punition répond la bienveillance du Père qui change de face et offre à son enfant le secours du grand poisson, symbole du ventre maternel, de la bonne Mère, secourable et sécurisante: position *réparatrice* dans ce parfait accueil, «trois jours et trois nuits».

Normalement, on devrait s'attendre à la liquidation du complexe d'Œdipe, à la réconciliation entre le Père et le fils, puisque ce dernier obéit finalement à l'ordre renouvelé; mais son obéissance ne signifie nullement une acceptation du fond du cœur; en témoigne un acte manqué: il est dit «qu'il fallait trois jours pour traverser» Ninive (3,3); or le prophète «y fit une journée de marche»; en faire trois eût été signe d'achèvement, de perfection.

Au chapitre quatre, le conflit est réactivé après la décision de ne pas détruire Ninive, autrement dit d'épargner les enfants prodiges revenus à de meilleurs sentiments. C'est contre des frères que Jonas se montre jaloux, au point de se «mettre en colère» (quatre reprises du terme). Terrible jalousie! Le Père céleste se montre trop bienveillant pour eux, dieu de tendresse et de

<sup>(29)</sup> M. KLEIN, «Réflexion sur l'Orestie», *Envie et Gratitude et autres essais* (Paris 1968) 189-219.

<sup>(30)</sup> «Un grand besoin de punition s'institue alors dans le moi qui, pour une part, s'offre comme victime au destin et, pour une autre part, trouve satisfaction dans le mauvais traitement infligé par le Surmoi (conscience de culpabilité). Toute punition est bien dans son fond la castration et, comme telle, satisfaction de la vieille attitude passive envers le père», S. FREUD, *Dostoïevski et la parricide* (trad. J. B. Pontalis).

pardon, à qui l'on peut prêter les paroles évangéliques: «Ton frère que voilà était mort et il a repris vie; il était perdu et il est retrouvé...» (Lc 15,32). Terrible jalousie, qui amène une nouvelle position dépressive: Jonas éprouve «un grand mal», préfère la mort à la vie (l'expression revient quatre fois encore); c'est qu'il attendait la punition des coupables, des mauvais fils, et qu'il l'attend encore: «il s'assit pour voir ce qui arriverait à la ville...» (v. 5). En fait, c'est contre lui que semble s'exercer le pouvoir destructeur du Père, qui fait souffler sur lui le sirocco et darder les rayons du soleil<sup>(31)</sup>; on peut donc admettre alors ses impulsions suicidaires et mieux comprendre, aujourd'hui, que cette figure est celle de l'anti-héros, son histoire celle d'un enfant face à un Père adoré et haï à la fois, incapable de parvenir à l'identification libératrice.

Cette psychologie peut donc être définie assez facilement, sans recours à Freud<sup>(32)</sup>, alors que celle du Psaume réclame une interprétation plus profonde<sup>(33)</sup>. La forme incantatoire, l'accumulation des termes, les répétitions, le décor archétypique de la catabase, en un mot: la substance mythique, en font une œuvre à double fond, cauchemar oppressant, d'ordre physiologique et psychique à la fois; j'y vois un fantasme, le substitut d'une scène infantile et le retour d'un désir refoulé.

Le Monstre n'est autre que la Mère terrible, sous les masques variés de la Mer, de l'Abîme (*Tehom*), du Shéol; Propp note que, dans les contes, il arrive que «la marâtre soit une dragonne»<sup>(34)</sup>; je retournerai l'expression: ici, la dragonne, le monstre aquatique, est une marâtre, la Mère méchante, dont la rencontre est à la fois agression meurtrière et rapport érotique; on l'a déjà vu: il s'agit bien d'une étreinte («L'Abîme m'enserrait... les Eaux m'enveloppaient... L'algue était enroulée tout autour de ma tête...»), mais mortelle, et l'on pourrait songer au vers de Racine, à peine modifié: «J'embrasse mon enfant, mais c'est pour l'étouffer». Comme le Sphinx, ou plutôt: la Sphinge, pour Œdipe, ainsi le Monstre marin, la Mère elle-même, pour Jonas. Qui, finalement, échappe au Monstre, grâce au Père symbolique dont il entend la Voix («Il m'a répondu»; v. 3), lui, YHWH, dont Isaïe disait qu'il «tue le Dragon qui est dans la mer» (Is 27,1). Un bon Père, «saint» (dans sa «sainte maison» v. 5 et 8), alors que la Mère est le Mal radical. Le mouvement substitue à la Mère comme type primordial le Père comme référence ultime et principale, ce que signifient les rites sacrificiels, à la fois symboles de castration (se priver de quelque chose) et expression du

<sup>(31)</sup> S. Freud a relevé, dans son étude consacrée au cas du *Président Schreber*, que les rayons du soleil pouvaient symboliser le pouvoir destructeur du père.

<sup>(32)</sup> Excès d'une telle interprétation, simpliste et réductrice, dans l'article de H. H. FINGERT, «Psychoanalytical Study of the Minor Prophet Jonah», *Psychoanalytical Review* 41 (1954) 55-65; Fingert voit, par exemple, dans Ninive la mauvaise mère, dans le ricin... le pénis, etc!

<sup>(33)</sup> J. MORE, «The Prophet Jonas: The Story of an Intrapsychic Process», *American Image* 27 (1970) 3-11; J. GOLDBRUNNER, «Die Nachtmeerfahrt des Jona, Tiefenpsychologische Erwägungen zu Jona und seinem Fisch», (1972) 68-70. Ces deux auteurs, ne faisant pas la distinction entre les deux Jonas, font de la baleine un monstre, tout comme le romancier Herman Melville, dans *Moby Dick*, mais avec quel génie!

<sup>(34)</sup> PROPP, *Morphologie*, 84.

désir d'identification au Père tout-Puissant. Il s'agit d'une sorte de cure réussie, d'une sublimation d'autant plus élevée que la descente fut extrême. Le Jonas de la narration n'est pas guéri de sa jalousie malade, celui du Psaume est délivré de l'angoisse qui provenait sans doute d'un crime plus grave qu'il faut bien désigner par le nom d'inceste. Pour le Jonas du conte, un Père terrible et une Mère bonne; pour celui du Psaume, une Mère terrible et un bon Père; mais... quel est véritablement l'enfant terrible?

8, place Suzanne-Buisson  
F-31500 Toulouse

Robert COUFFIGNAL



## Fluctuación textual en Mt 20,21.26.27

No todas las variantes neotestamentarias tienen la misma fisonomía textual. Las hay que presentan pocas alternativas que, por otra parte, suelen estar bien o suficientemente documentadas. Pero las hay que se desmembran en múltiples lecciones, que no siempre tienen un peso convincente de atestación documental. En estas ocasiones es cuando se pueden descubrir aspectos ignorados de determinadas recensiones.

Las variantes que considero en esta nota son interesantes en cuanto detectan prolijas vacilaciones del texto en la transmisión del mismo. Lo cual no deja de crear cierta indecisión al actual crítico en orden a su admisión o rechazo.

Ninguna de las tres variantes ahora estudiadas ha sido discutida en la obra de B. M. Metzger<sup>(1)</sup>. Como consta en el título, las tres pertenecen al capítulo 20 de Mt.

### Mt 20,21

Este versículo refiere la petición que la madre de los hijos del Zebedeo hizo al Señor en favor de los mismos. A la pregunta del Señor, la mujer responde: Εἰπὲ ἵνα καθίσωσιν οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ μου εἰς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου καὶ εἰς ἐξ εὐωνύμων σου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.

Las variantes que vamos a considerar se refieren a la colocación (derecha o izquierda), respecto al Señor, que la madre pide para sus hijos.

La documentación es la siguiente:

εκ δεξιων σου – εξ ευωνυμων σου: variante general

εκ δεξιων – εξ ευωνυμων σου: 8 B

εκ δεξιων σου – εξ ευωνυμων: DΘ f1 33 174 565 al e aur b c d ff1  
ff2 r1 vgpl arm

Las ediciones críticas, en cuanto a la elección de estas variantes, se dividen así: nueve conservan los dos pronombres σου<sup>(2)</sup>; ocho omiten el primero<sup>(3)</sup>; y una, el segundo<sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London-New York 1975).

<sup>(2)</sup> ALAND-BLACK-MARTINI-METZGER-WIKGREN<sup>3</sup>, BOVER-O'CALLAGHAN<sup>2</sup>, BRANDSCHEID, HODGES-FARSTAD, NESTLE-ALAND<sup>26</sup>, SOUTER<sup>2</sup> (r 1950), VOGELS<sup>2</sup>, VON SODEN, SynHUCK-GREEVEN<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>(3)</sup> LAGRANGE, LEGG, MERK<sup>9</sup>, TASKER, TISCHENDORF<sup>8</sup>, WEISS<sup>2</sup>, WESTCOTT-HORT, SynALAND<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>(4)</sup> SCRIVENER (r 1908).

Lugar paralelo sólo lo tiene Mc 10,37. He aquí las variantes con su correspondiente documentación:

*Mc 10,37*

εκ δεξιων σου: variante general  
 σου εκ δεξιων:  $\kappa$  B C\* L  $\Delta$   $\Psi$  892\* 1342  
 om σου: 713 1038 k aur

εξ ευωνυμων σου: variante general  
 σου εξ ευωνυμων:  $\kappa$  1342  
 σου εξ αριστερων: L  $\Psi$  892\*  
 εξ ευωνυμων: D W  $\Theta$  1 72 565 579  
 εξ αριστερων: B  $\Delta$   
 om *tu(am)*  
*a sinistra*: k geo  
*ad sinistram*: b c d ff<sup>2</sup> i q r<sup>1</sup> vg<sup>ms</sup> arm  
*a sinistris*: c

La aceptación de estas variantes en las ediciones críticas es la siguiente: tres ediciones tienen la general (εκ δεξιων σου – εξ ευωνυμων σου)<sup>(5)</sup>. Una se decide por esta combinación: εκ δεξιων σου – εξ ευωνυμων<sup>(6)</sup>. Once omiten σου detrás de αριστερων (σου εκ δεξιων – εξ αριστερων)<sup>(7)</sup>. Y tres tienen σου εκ δεξιων – σου εξ αριστερων<sup>(8)</sup>.

A la vista de las diferentes variantes con su apoyo documental y de las opciones de las ediciones, procuraremos hacer alguna consideración.

Comencemos por Mt, en el que el problema se circunscribe al pronombre σου. Uno de los dos (sin duda el primero, dada la documentación) es cierto. Los códices  $\kappa$  y B se dejan llevar, una vez más, por su propensión a las omisiones.

Ahora bien, supuesto el primer σου, ya no es necesario el segundo. Y ésta puede ser la razón de omitirlo D  $\Theta$ . Aunque críticamente no parece deba descartarse la variante general (con dos σου), adviértase que el segundo σου, por más que no tenga el mismo aval que el primero, en cierto sentido puede aun ser preferible al primero. Porque, en efecto, el peso de la totalidad de los antioquenos (asociados a  $\kappa$  B) acredita más el original que el binomio D  $\Theta$ .

Es interesante registrar el voto de las ediciones críticas. Las más, aunque con poco margen, reproducen la variante general (σου<sup>1</sup> + σου<sup>2</sup>). A continuación, vienen los que mantienen el σου<sup>2</sup> sobre el σου<sup>1</sup>, que — como acabamos de decir — parece, en cierto sentido preferible. Sólo una elige la omisión del σου<sup>2</sup>.

Pasemos a Mc, donde el problema es más complejo. Ante todo, rivalizan ευωνυμων y αριστερων. 'Αριστερός, además de este caso de Mc, se en-

<sup>(5)</sup> BRANDSCHEID<sup>3</sup>, HODGES – FARSTAD, SCRIVENER (<sup>r</sup> 1908).

<sup>(6)</sup> SOUTER<sup>2</sup> (<sup>r</sup> 1950).

<sup>(7)</sup> ALAND–BLACK–MARTINI–METZGER–WIKGREN<sup>3</sup>, BOVER–O'CALLAGHAN<sup>2</sup>, LANGRANGE, LEGG, MERK<sup>9</sup>, NESTLE–ALAND<sup>26</sup>, TASKER, WEISS<sup>2</sup>, WESTCOTT–HORT, Syn-ALAND<sup>7</sup>, SynHUCK–GREEVEN<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>(8)</sup> TISCHENDORF<sup>8</sup>, VOGELS<sup>2</sup>, VON SODEN.

cuentra otras tres veces en el NT: Mt 6,3; Lc 23,33; 2 Cor 6,7. Εὐδώνυμος, fuera del presente, se halla en los siguientes pasajes neotestamentarios: Mt 20,21.23; 25,33.41; 27,38; Mc 10,40; 15,27; He 21,3; Ap 10,2. En total, diez veces. Es, por tanto, más frecuente εὐδώνυμον que ἀριστερῶν. Y, consiguientemente, es más fácil el paso de ἀριστερῶν a εὐδώνυμον que viceversa. Pero esta razón no es decisiva.

En Lc 23,33 (ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν) la variante auténtica es, sin duda, ἀριστερῶν y los que la sustituyen por εὐδώνυμον son: C\* L N Q Ψ 0124 13 28 33 69 157 158 346 543 788 826 828 983 1242 1424 1604 1675 170 1184 1524 11016 11761, entre los que sólo hay un antioqueno (el 158). No se descubre, pues, entre los mismos tendencia alguna a cambiar ἀριστερῶν en εὐδώνυμον. Con todo, en Mc 10,37 pudo haber influido la armonización con el pasaje paralelo de Mt 20,21, en que se lee εὐδώνυμον. Mas, por otra parte, en Mc 10,37 ἀριστερῶν sólo se halla en pocos alejandrinos e incluso discordes entre sí. Y es curioso que la variante preferida por los críticos sea ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, sólo atestiguada por B Δ.

En cuanto a σου, se discute su presencia o ausencia y su colocación. Su ausencia podrá explicarse de un modo análogo a Mt 20,21. O también, de manera más general, por ser posibles las expresiones adverbiales ἐκ δεξιῶν, ἐξ εὐδώνυμον sin ulterior aditamento. Es verdad, además, que la colocación σου... tiene la ventaja de ser singular y discrepante de Mt 20,21. Pero su documentación es exclusivamente alejandrina.

Del análisis de estas variantes resalta la firmeza de la lección antioqueña, contrapuesta a la dispersión de los discrepantes, lo cual no deja de ser una dato digno de atención.

Esto supuesto, pasemos a las otras dos variantes del mismo capítulo mateano, es decir, de los versículos 26 y 27, en los que se continúa la escena introducida por la madre de los hijos del Zebedeo. Jesús, después de recomendarles y de pedirles si podrían beber del cáliz que Él iba a beber, escuchó su respuesta afirmativa. Oído lo cual, les indicó que sentarse a su derecha o izquierda no le competía a él otorgarlo, sino a su Padre. Los diez se enojaron contra los dos hermanos. Mas Jesús, llamándoles, les añadió que los jefes de las naciones gobiernan con imperio y los grandes mandan con autoridad. Pero no ha de ser así entre ellos, ἀλλ'ὅς ἐάν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι, ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος, <sup>27</sup>καὶ ὃς ἂν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἔσται ὑμῶν δοῦλος.

Las variantes tomadas en consideración son ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι del versículo 26 y ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος del 27 (°).

Comencemos, pues, por la primera.

#### Mt 20,26

ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι: variante general

ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας εἶναι: 28 c h

ἐν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι μέγας: 440 443 713 1574 sy<sup>s</sup>

(°) Aunque — repetimos — estas variantes no han sido estudiadas por Metzger, debemos, sin embargo, añadir que el εἶναι del versículo 26 ha sido discutido en su obra (METZGER, *A Textual Commentary*, 52-53).

εν υμιν γενεσθαι: 71  
 υμων μεγας γενεσθαι: L Z 892  
 μεγας εν υμιν γενεσθαι: B 1093 1396 1675 sa bo  
 μεγας γενεσθαι εν υμιν: C 349 517 1402 1424 ff

En cuanto a las ediciones críticas, la casi totalidad tiene la variante general (εν υμιν μεγας γενεσθαι)<sup>(10)</sup>, a excepción de Weiss<sup>2</sup>, que acepta la marginal de Westcott-Hort<sup>(11)</sup>.

Considerando las variantes y su atestación, podemos decir que son ciertos los términos μεγας, γενεσθαι, εν υμιν. Se puede discutir el orden, pero prevalece el de la variante general (antioquenos + P<sup>45</sup> & D Θ). Los alejandrinos andan dispersos, con la discrepancia de B.

Veamos la situación textual en el paralelo marciano:

#### Mc 10,43

γενεσθαι μεγας εν υμιν: variante general  
*fieri maior*: l vg  
 μεγας γενεσθαι εν υμιν: κ B C\* L Δ Ψ 1 f13 229 349 433 517 543  
 565 579 892 1071 1342 1424 geo<sup>2</sup>  
 μεγας εν υμιν γενεσθαι: 1542 1654  
 μεγας εν υμιν ειναι: D  
*maior esse in vobis*: f ff<sup>1</sup> q  
*maior inter vos esse*: d  
 εν υμιν μεγας γενεσθαι: W 28 330 l251 sy<sup>sp</sup> arm  
 εν υμιν ειναι πρωτος: Θ  
 εν υμιν ειναι μεγας: 700 k (c)  
*in vobis maior esse*: a b (i)  
*esse maior*: aur

Las ediciones críticas se dividen en dos grupos: cuatro tienen γενεσθαι μεγας εν υμιν<sup>(12)</sup>; y catorce, μεγας γενεσθαι εν υμιν<sup>(13)</sup>.

Conviene ahora discutir el peso de las variantes. En estos versículos son idénticos los términos μεγας, γενεσθαι, εν υμιν tanto en κ B como en los antioquenos. Sólo varía el orden de los primeros. En el caso presente la solución es algo más complicada por la división y consistencia de los testimonios. Los alejandrinos se muestran compactos y respaldados por algunos cesarientes y otros pocos. Decididamente los críticos modernos prefieren la lectura de κ B y algunos más. ¿Puede esta coincidencia dar la preferencia a estos testigos contra el bloque masivo de los antioquenos? La respuesta es bastante obvia. A pesar de todo, aceptamos el caso actual como discutible y, consiguientemente, no definitiva la opción mayoritaria de los críticos.

<sup>(10)</sup> Los indicados en las notas 2, 3 y 4.

<sup>(11)</sup> WESTCOTT-HORT<sup>mg</sup>: μεγας εν υμιν γενεσθαι.

<sup>(12)</sup> BRANDSCHEID<sup>2</sup>, HODGES-FARSTAD, SCRIVENER<sup>(r 1908)</sup>, SOUTER<sup>2</sup> (r 1950).

<sup>(13)</sup> ALAND-BLACK-MARTINI-METZGER-WIKGREN<sup>3</sup>, BOVER-O'CALLAGHAN<sup>2</sup>, LAGRANGE, LEGG, MERK<sup>9</sup>, NESTLE-ALAND<sup>26</sup>, TASKER, TISCHENDORF<sup>8</sup>, VOGELS<sup>2</sup>, VON SODEN, WEISS<sup>2</sup>, WESTCOTT-HORT, SYNALAND<sup>7</sup>, SYNHUCK-GREEVEN<sup>13</sup>.

Queda por considerar la última variante.

*Mt 20,27*

Veamos, en primer lugar, los testimonios que avalan las diferentes lecturas:

εν υμιν ειναι πρωτος: variante general  
 εν υμιν πρωτος ειναι: W 1241 1515 lat arm  
 εν υμιν πρωτος: L  
 υμων ειναι πρωτος: X 085  
 ειναι υμων πρωτος: B

Los críticos se disponen ahora como en el versículo anterior de Mt y también se da la discordia singular de Weiss<sup>2</sup> y la anotación marginal de Westcott-Hort (ειναι υμων πρωτος).

En el caso presente son ciertos πρωτος, ειναι, εν υμιν. Como se ve, también aquí prevalece el orden de los antioquenos apoyados asimismo por P<sup>45</sup> & D Θ. Los críticos unánimemente lo aceptan, a excepción de Weiss<sup>2</sup> que da por buena la singularidad de B. Los alejandrinos andan, de nuevo, dispersos.

Veamos, finalmente, el último paralelo:

*Mc 10,44*

υμων γενεσθαι πρωτος: variante general  
 υμων ειναι πρωτος: D W f1 91 299 406 565 d  
 εν υμιν ειναι πρωτος: κ B C\* L 12 28 61 348 517 579 700 892 1342  
                                   c ff<sup>2</sup>  
 εν υμιν ειναι μεγας: Θ  
 εν υμιν πρωτος ειναι: Δ 071 k aur b f i l q r<sup>1</sup> vg  
 γενεσθαι υμων πρωτος: Σ 234 482 483 484 sy<sup>1</sup>  
 γενεσθαι εν υμιν πρωτος: 238  
 ειναι εν υμιν πρωτος: 1216 a  
 ειναι πρωτος εν υμιν: Ψ  
 ειναι πρωτος: 1093

La variante general está testimoniada por tres ediciones críticas<sup>(14)</sup>, mientras que quince prefieren la lectura εν υμιν ειναι πρωτος<sup>(15)</sup>.

En esta variante es cierto el orden de los términos (inicio con el pronombre) además de la preferencia de πρωτος sobre μεγας. La duda está entre υμων γενεσθαι (de los antioquenos) y εν υμιν ειναι (de κ B). En la solución, no cabe apelar a la armonización, pues en Mt 20,26 y 20,27 y en Mc 10,43 y 10,44 las cuatro fórmulas — tanto las de B como las de los antioquenos — son diferentes (sólo coinciden el εν υμιν ειναι πρωτος de los antioquenos en Mt 20,27 y el de κ B en Mc 10,44). Por consiguiente, ahora

<sup>(14)</sup> HODGES-FARSTAD, SCRIVENER<sup>(r 1908)</sup>, TISCHENDORF<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>(15)</sup> ALAND-BLACK-MARTINI-METZGER-WIKGREN<sup>3</sup>, BOVER-O'CALLAGHAN<sup>2</sup>, BRANDSCHEID<sup>3</sup>, LAGRANGE, LEGG, MERK<sup>9</sup>, NESTLE-ALAND<sup>26</sup>, SOUTER<sup>2 (r 1950)</sup>, TASKER, VOGELS<sup>2</sup>, VON SODEN, WEISS<sup>2</sup>, WESTCOTT-HORT, SynALAND<sup>7</sup>, SynHUCK-GREEVEN<sup>13</sup>.

ha de decidir el mayor o menor valor que se conceda a los antioquenos o a los alejandrinos. Tenemos, de nuevo, un caso de incierta decisión. Sólo nos atrevemos a notar que Tischendorf rechaza la variante  $\epsilon\nu\ \upsilon\mu\iota\nu\ \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  de  $\kappa$  B por creerla armonizante con Mt 20,27. No es de despreciar la autoridad de Tischendorf cuando se aparta de  $\kappa$ . Pero esta determinación no puede decidir una elección.

Consideradas estas lecturas con la prolijidad de variantes que ofrecen — muchas de las cuales con apoyo documental insignificante —, es de relevar que la recensión antioquena aparece coherente tanto por el número de sus representantes en favor de las variantes, como por los motivos que pueden aducirse en su justificación.

Esta coherencia documental sería muy difícil de explicar, si no descansara en la estabilidad de un texto que mereció la confianza de quienes lo transmitieron. Y es de notar que los escribas antioquenos eran buenos conocedores del griego y, por ende, capaces de discernir — sobre todo, en la que llamaríamos fase preantioquena — lo que, en su opinión, respondía al texto original.

Pontificio Instituto Bíblico  
Via della Pilotta, 25  
00187 Roma

JOSÉ O'CALLAGHAN

# RECENSIONES

## Vetus Testamentum

Niels Peter LEMCHE, *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israelite Society* (The Biblical Seminar Series). Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1988. 276 p. 13,8 × 21,5. £8.95/\$14.95.

This new book of N.P. Lemche lacks the vigor and excitement of his 1985 *Early Israel* (Leiden: Brill). This is partly due to the plan of the book (cf. 7f) to present an introduction to a new synthesis of Israelite history and a history of Israelite religion on the strength of the new directions L. argued for in his 1985 work. One's hopes are particularly aroused by L's effort to write a history of early Israel independent of the biblical historiography. Yet, one should not judge too negatively a book whose main fault is that it does not satisfy a need which the author himself has worked so well and so thoroughly to meet. *Ancient Israel* is a sound textbook for students, presenting a well thought-out, comprehensive view of the contemporary problems in writing a history of Israel. Ideologically, it fits well with a growing list of recent works on the history of Israel (A. Soggin, *A History of Israel* [1984]; J.M. Miller–J.H. Hayes, *A History of Israel and Judah* [1986]; G. Garbini, *The History and Ideology of Ancient Israel* [1988]) which are forcing us to rethink, in radically new ways, the scientific basis of our discipline.

L's chapter on the monarchy (ch.4) and that on the Exile and post-exilic period present a critical review of the biblical historiography of these periods (the so-called "deuteronomistic historian" and Chronicles–Ezra and Nehemiah, respectively), and clearly points out many of the limitations which these works have. However, his perspective still rests with the biblical historiography, even when he is most critical of the biblical authors' "histories". In spite of the fact that the subject matter of 1 Sam–2 Kings is that of the monarchy, it is nevertheless a *primary* source for the history of the exile and early post-exilic period, and at best a *secondary* source for any history prior to the exile. This is also true of Amos, Hosea, I Isaiah and Jeremiah. Similarly, although Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah speak about the concerns of the returning exiles, they are *primary* sources for the late Persian period. If any of these sources can be used for reconstructing the history of Israel in the pre-exilic period, their use must be narrowly evaluated and extra-biblical confirmation (when possible) sought. For example, both Zachariah 14,5 and Amos 1,1 refer to an earthquake

during the reign of Uzziah (8th century). However, both of these references put this event into the distant past, and the most that we can conclude from these biblical references is that in the exilic or early post-exilic periods knowledge of an earlier earthquake existed which was attributed to the time of Uzziah. The correlation of Uzziah with the time of the earthquake is probable but not immediate, as we do not know the source of the reference.

L's attempt at a synthesis of non-biblical perspectives with biblical historiography frequently founders in a manner reminiscent of some more traditional approaches to Israel's history. So, for example, in his interesting discussion of what he refers to as a "reserve ideology" based on kinship systems of traditional societies (88ff, 98ff and 130f), he unfortunately associates the kinship system with an "Israelite tribal society", which he argues — apparently on the basis of a synthesis of an understanding of the transition of dominant power in Palestine from Late Bronze petty states to their collapse in Iron I and biblical historiography — replaced the "Canaanite" system and was in turn transformed into a centralized monarchic state c. 1000 BC. This interpretation not only runs into difficulty with questions about the historicity of such biblical "tribes" as Judah and Ephraim, which are certainly regional rather than kin-based entities, but in paralleling state and kinship functions as competing and successive structures of Israelite society, he neglects one of the most stabilizing polarities of many ancient societies, namely the economically oriented stability of locally based kinship groups over against the transient trans-regional politico-military functions of state despotism. In this regard, I find it difficult also to accept his denial of the existence of "national states" in the Middle East and his related designation of Late Bronze "city-states" as "territorial states". Of course, the form of national states which we know from Europe in post-renaissance times certainly did not exist in the Middle East. Ethnicity seems to have been a clearly defined self-conscious factor and played a significant role in the political policies of the Persian empire, and language distinctions between states did exist from at least the Iron Age, and in fact are clearly involved in demarcating the petty states of Syria Palestine at that time. During the Late Bronze Age these ethno-geographical distinctions are only first becoming clearly apparent. One might perhaps think here of the Š3šw in contrast to the 'apiru and certainly of the "Canaanites" at Ugarit as reflecting a consciousness of a proto-ethnicity. Historiographically, the issue becomes important in attempting to describe Palestine's transition from the time of the Egyptian empire to the *territorial* states of the early Assyrian periods: namely, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Israel, Judah, Ishmael, Midian, etc. each of which might be described as manifestations of regional ethnicity or "nation-states". Moreover, L. never gives a clear extra-biblical historiographical justification for placing the origins of statehood to the period of c. 1000 BC.

The most interesting and innovative section of L's study is chapter 6: "Israelite Religion". This is a fascinating chapter of depth and brilliance, and every page sheds new light on difficult problems. I have some difficulty in his understanding of so much of the Old Testament as early pre-exilic



literature reflective of polytheistic and fertility cults which had undergone a severe pruning under the impetus of a monotheistic ideology. I find such a tendency difficult to trace, in a wholly believable way, even in the Septuagint. Rather than understanding the many polytheistic and fertility aspects of the Old Testament literature as overlooked remnants left by inadequate and distracted censors, one might see them in the context of the exilic and post-exilic literature in which they are found: manifestations of belief which are in the post-exilic period of biblical formation still valid. What evidence, after all, does L. have for his claim that polytheism and fertility aspects of cult did not exist in Israel in the early Persian period. All the texts we have — both biblical and extra-biblical (Elephantine!) — give evidence of such beliefs. Not even the prophets (Zachariah!) or the so-called Priestly writings (Azazel) are wholly antagonistic to such beliefs.

As to the origins of Yahweh (253ff): certainly recent studies associate those origins with Sinai and Edom, but in these very few texts Yahweh is comparable to Chemosh and other deities of the Aramaean related regions of Palestine.

In summary: I would highly recommend L's book and have no hesitation in using it with my students. It is not yet the history of Israel promised: one independent of the biblical historiography. It is, nevertheless, a very decided and hopefully irreversible step in that direction.

Marquette University  
Milwaukee, WI 53233  
USA

Thomas L. THOMPSON

Lyle ESLINGER, *Into the Hands of the Living God* (JSOTSS 84—Bible and Literature Series 24). Sheffield, Almond Press, 1989. XII-272 p. £20.00/\$35.00.

The two methodological arch-rivals in biblical studies today are historical criticism and literary criticism. The former, having been the regnant method for the last several generations, usually ignores the latter — either from a feeling of superiority over a young upstart or from the inability to grasp a fundamentally different way of viewing things. Literary criticism, the upstart, often discounts the wisdom of its predecessor as no longer relevant, or takes potshots at it. Few studies of either type attempt to meet the other on terms befitting academic discussion. Eslinger's book is, fortunately, one such study. Eslinger is positioned firmly in the literary camp, and his tone is somewhat polemical, but he does show, in a clear and sophisticated manner, how the two methodologies differ and why he feels that the literary approach is superior. The discussion centers around three concepts: voice (or narrative ontology), the narrator and evaluations within the narrative.

Eslinger makes the point (not a totally original one but important nevertheless) that what the historical critics have taken as signs of editorial layers — i.e., accretions over historical time — are better explained by

literary critics as dissonant voices within a text — the differing perspectives of characters, the narrator, the implied author and the real author. This is called narrative ontology. Whereas the historical critic, upon encountering conflicting views in a story, looks outside of the story into historical reality or the passage of time for a resolution, the literary critic explains these conflicting views in terms of the dynamic of story-telling. For example, Samuel's speech in 1 Samuel 12 need not reflect an anti-monarchical stand on the part of the narrator; it is better explained as representing the stance of a character, Samuel, who stood to lose personally if a king were chosen. Whatever the realia behind the speech, Eslinger's point is that historical critics have automatically assumed, with no theoretical justification, that the narrator/author agrees with Samuel. Eslinger distinguishes carefully between the views of the narrator and those of the characters. In fact, he does not even feel that the narrator's view always coincides with God's. (God is a character, after all, like all the rest.) The point is well taken. My one criticism is that Eslinger does not allow for the possibility, although he knows it exists theoretically, that a character may be a vehicle for the narrator/author's point of view.

Much of the study of narrative focusses on the narrator and his narratorial situation. In the Bible, one commonly finds an external, unconditioned narratorial situation. The narrator stands outside of the events of the story; he is detached, objective, neutral. This is neatly illustrated in Genesis 1, where the narrator recounts what happened before humans were created (that is, before he could have existed) and, furthermore, gives no inkling about how he came to know of these events. (Did God tell him? Did he see it in a dream?) The biblical narrator knows all, even the unspoken thoughts of characters. Moreover, for the most part, he does not pass judgment on events or characters (Eslinger has tabulated the frequency of evaluation — see below).

Why is most biblical narrative told by an external, non-evaluating narrator? Eslinger suggests that this was extraordinarily suitable for the Bible's purpose which, he cautiously ventures, was "aimed precisely at the emotional piety and prejudice with which these traditions were/are approached by the... reader" (22). As we read Eslinger's interpretations of Judges 1-2, 1 Samuel 12, 1 Kings 1-11, and 2 Kings 17, we see this principle applied to specific cases and a picture of Eslinger's understanding of the purpose of the narrative emerges. For instance, in reference to Judges 2 Eslinger says:

The narrator blames neither God nor Israel. He simply reports the problem using the tools provided by his external, unconditioned viewpoint. And to the reader he offers a fresh insight into the problem of God and Israel. Existing as they do on two different levels of being, God and Israel constantly misunderstand each other. Divine omniscience may be a reality for the uninvolved God but for the one that has chosen to mix with man in history it seems to cloud the resulting confusion. The history of Israel, traced in the deuteronomistic narratives, is a history of misunderstanding and cross-purposes that ends, as it must, in failure (24).

Later, in reference to Solomon's prayers, Eslinger says that the narrator "provides a history of the difficulties through which the covenantal relationship moves" (179) and "The narrator's purpose is to show the irreconcilable differences between God and Israel, as represented by Solomon, over the significance of the temple. It is the ultimate result of those differences — the Exile — that it is his purpose to explain" (180-181). This amounts to a sophisticated literary "theology". The deuteronomistic history, according to Eslinger, explains the history of Israel, especially the Exile, not in terms of Israel's sins and God's punishment (the "emotional piety" reading), but in terms of a set of complex relationships and misunderstandings between the two parties to the covenant, which, because of the nature of things, could not have turned out differently. In other words, Eslinger does for the story of Israel what the author of Job did for the story of Job (cf. 23). To be sure, this reading is more palatable than the "suffering and destruction are punishments for sins" line which is hard for moderns to accept. The problem that I have with it, however, is that it makes the biblical narrator sound like a modern psychologist or sociologist. (Could family counseling have alleviated the misunderstandings between God and Israel?) Somehow I cannot see a biblical narrator/author, for all his objectivity, taking quite this approach. For one thing, it produces a fatalism that would offer little hope to an exilic community (presumably the *raison d'être* for the deuteronomistic history).

Although the narrator is generally distant from his story, he does occasionally offer an evaluation of the actions or behaviors of the characters. Characters themselves may also offer evaluations, sometimes in extended speeches. Eslinger criticizes historical critics for failing to distinguish the two, for seeing in these speeches the views of the deuteronomistic editor, with the result that the opinions of Moses, Samuel or God are mistaken for those of the narrator/author. One of the contributions of this book is a computerized analysis of the "evaluative spikes" which shows their distribution. The evaluations are analyzed for various aspects: quality of the evaluation (positive, negative, neutral), person or thing being evaluated, tone, who makes the evaluation, does the context support it, etc. The analysis reveals a high degree of correspondence between the great orations and evaluative spikes. But, in line with narrative ontology, the evaluations of characters (who make these speeches) are not equal to the evaluation of the narrator. This is especially so when the context of the story provides mitigating circumstances for these character evaluations, thereby undercutting or relativizing them. That is, the character's evaluation grows out of his or her own needs and limitations. Again, Eslinger warns against mistaking these evaluations for the views of the narrator. He treats them all as non-authorial opinions. As for the narrator's evaluations, Eslinger again looks to the context, and finds that often (or always?) the context contradicts the evaluation. For example, the narrator's evaluation of the success of the conquest in Josh 11,23; 21,43-45; 23,1 is contradicted by the narrative itself in the case of Ai (7,4-5), Geshurites and Maacathites (13,13), Canaanites in Gezer (16,10), and elsewhere. The narrator's evaluation must, then, be viewed as ironic. This

means that the narrator's evaluations "do not offer a master key to understanding the complexities of the narrative; if anything, they add to it" (29). This is a bit unsettling for the reader. It means that there is no easy access to the interpretation of the narrative. As to whether Eslinger's own interpretation is convincing, each reader must decide.

Dept. of Hebrew and East Asian  
Languages and Literatures  
University of Maryland  
College Park, MD 20742  
USA

Adele BERLIN

Mark O'BRIEN, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: A Reassessment* (OBO 92). Freiburg/Schweiz, Universitätsverlag-Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989. XII-319 p. 16 × 23,5.

A review of the last decade's scholarly work on the problem of the sources, composition, and subsequent editing of the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr) might lead one to believe that the entire enterprise is in danger of breaking down under its own weight. In this period at least ten monographs have appeared to support, revise, or overturn the earlier foundational work of M. Noth, (*Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* [Darmstadt 1963]). Notable among these more recent suggestions has been the hypothesis of A. F. Campbell (*Of Prophets and Kings. A Late Ninth-Century Document* [Washington 1986]) that Dtr utilized an expanded version of a ninth-century Prophetic Record from the northern Kingdom. This earlier work told the stories of prophets and kings from Samuel to (in its later expanded form) the fall of the Northern Kingdom. Beginning from this attractive proposal, Campbell's student Mark O'Brien now offers a complex reconstruction of the redactional history of the Deuteronomistic History and a new view of its plan and purpose.

O'Brien's reassessment grows out of his observation that Dtr was planned and produced as a history of Israel's leaders from Moses to Josiah. It originally ended at 2 Kgs 23,23. His thesis is founded on a structural analysis of the whole work and a meticulous source-critical investigation of the text, concentrating on passages widely recognized as deuteronomistic. O'Brien is to be commended for presenting his own argument in a clear way, while simultaneously guiding his readers through the labyrinth of modern scholarship.

O'Brien's structural analysis of Dtr discovers a three-part history of leadership: Moses and Joshua (Deut 1,1-Judg 2,10), Judges and Transition to Monarchy (Judg 2,11-1 Sam 11,15), and Prophets and Kings (1 Sam 13,1-2 Kgs 23,23). The Deuteronomistic Historian wished to promote Josiah's reform as the realization of what had been set forth by Moses in Deut 12,8-12. This ideal had been achieved in the time of Solomon, but was lost through Solomon's later failures. The style of

leadership characterized by a proper cooperation of prophets and kings made the repristination of this Mosaic ideal possible, first partially under Hezekiah and then fully under Josiah.

Campbell's expanded Prophetic Record (1 Sam 1–2 Kgs 17) provided the core for Dtr's history of leadership. A parallel Southern Document, extending as far as Hezekiah, had been constructed on the pattern of this Prophetic Record. These two were combined by Dtr into a synchronic history of leadership in Israel. Dtr then carried the story forward up to his own period in the reign of Josiah. In order to construct his historical narrative for the period before the Prophetic Record began, Dtr utilized the Deuteronomy law code and pre-deuteronomistic works concerning the conquest and the judges. Following Judah's defeat and exile, a series of three redactors reworked the history in order to bring it into line with new theological realities.

In a departure from what is generally accepted as true, O'Brien eliminates the transitional speeches of Josh 23 and 1 Sam 12 from the work of Dtr, assigning them instead to the last ("nomistic") stage of exilic redaction. The removal of these two "end of era summaries" from Dtr means that the other transitional speeches lose much of their structural importance over against two texts which deal with the change from one kind of leadership to another (Josh 24,29-33; Judg 2,10 and 1 Sam 8–11). This fits with O'Brien's assertion that Dtr is basically a history of leadership in Israel more than a history of the nation's overall relationship with Yahweh.

This hypothesis is an attractive and reasonable one. It has the distinct advantage of postulating a series of believable documents with believable motivations for their authors. It provides explications for those problematic texts with which everyone who works with Dtr must wrestle (2 Sam 7; 1 Kgs 11; 2 Kgs 17, Manasseh's reign, Huldah's oracle).

O'Brien's proposal, if it truly represents the redactional history of Dtr, would go a long way toward explaining many of the things which have troubled scholars since Noth's original hypothesis was advanced. It provides a rationale for the tension between the cyclic shape of Judges and the linear sequence of the rest of Dtr. It justifies Dtr's attitude toward the monarchy and the Davidic dynasty. It gives an explanation of the infamous irregularities in the judgment formulas and the puzzling contradiction between optimism (Josiah, reform) and pessimism (Manasseh, exile).

The perplexing shifts in evaluative perspective within Dtr are explained through the interplay of various sources and redactors. Was the request for a king an act of apostasy (exilic redactors) or was kingship in partnership with prophets a positive step for Israel (Prophetic Record, Dtr)? Was divine judgment the result of the sins of the kings (Prophetic Record, Southern Document, Dtr) or of the people as a whole (nomistic redaction)? Was the chief cultic sin Jeroboam's non-Levitical priests (expanded Prophetic Record), worship on high places (Southern Document), Bethel (Dtr), Manasseh's foreign cults (an exilic redaction), or the people's disobedience of the law (nomistic redaction)? Although Dtr himself held a positive view of God's promises to David, a stage of the later exilic redaction held David's descendant Manasseh responsible for Judah's collapse.

The odd prominence of Hezekiah in a document supposedly glorifying Josiah has been the focus of recent study (B. Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* [Atlanta 1985] and I. W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings* [Berlin 1988]). O'Brien explains this as due to the influence of the Southern Document which ended with Hezekiah and the intentional equation of David, Hezekiah and Josiah by Dtr.

In one of his most interesting contributions to the discussion, O'Brien points to a repeated four-part narrative pattern in Dtr's treatment of David, Hezekiah and Josiah, a pattern which O'Brien sees as an authorial hallmark of Dtr. These three kings are linked by the judgment formulas for Hezekiah and Josiah (2 Kgs 18,3; 22,2). For each the same pattern is repeated (in 2 Sam 7; 2 Kgs 18-19; 2 Kgs 22-23 in its original Dtr form): 1) critical event, 2) consultation of prophet, 3) favorable response, 4) significant fulfillment. For David and Hezekiah, Dtr utilized source materials to reflect this pattern. The pattern for Josiah was Dtr's own creation. This is a significant contribution to our understanding of the important theological linkage of these three ideal kings and the previously undervalued importance for Dtr of the relationship between king and prophet.

While this review article is not a proper forum for a detailed analysis of O'Brien's thesis, a few cautions are in order. For one thing, this reassessment clearly stands or falls with Campbell's hypothesis of a Prophetic Record, and only time will tell whether this supposed source will stand up under scholarly scrutiny. The Prophetic Record hypothesis is itself heavily dependent on Campbell's division of the judgment formulas in Kings into three patterns (for recent work on this, see Provan, *Hezekiah*, 35-55). The variety found in these formulas may be better explained as Dtr's own free compositional variation. Moreover, Dtr's own source citations seem difficult to square with the hypothesis of a Prophetic Record and Southern Document. The existence of a Southern Document is particularly hard to sustain, as O'Brien himself acknowledges (179), but without it O'Brien's portrait of Dtr loses its sharp focus. Finally, one must question whether the differences among O'Brien's three exilic redactions are really distinct enough to carry much conviction.

At a more fundamental level, the loss to Dtr of two of Noth's retrospective summary speeches may create a substantial problem for the whole hypothesis of a Deuteronomistic History. These summaries (along with the dual overlapping chronologies and the prophecy-fulfillment schema) were basic to Noth's recognition of Dtr as an original author of history and of Deut - 2 Kgs as a purposeful, self-contained whole. Can they lose their structural importance for Dtr without fatally undermining the whole hypothesis?

This moves us to an even more basic question, one suggested by a review of the recent spate of studies on the Deuteronomistic History. How much reassessing of Noth's basic hypothesis can be done without the entire proposal simply unraveling? Noth insisted on a single purposeful author responsible for the creation of the complex Deut - 2 Kgs. Relatively simple revisions (F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* [Cambridge, MA

1973] and perhaps H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen* [Zürich 1980]) of the Noth hypothesis leave this brilliant insight standing. In contrast, complex analyses of later editions (W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte* [Göttingen 1972]; T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie* [Helsinki 1975]; A.D.H. Mayes, *The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile* [London 1983]) or of extensive earlier sources (Campbell, O'Brien) tend to reduce Dtr to being one relatively unexceptional figure in a long parade of redactors.

The present reviewer is reminded of how a previous generation's attempts to trace Pentateuchal sources into the Former Prophets eventually collapsed under the growing complexity of the competing theories and the intractable disagreements among them. One wonders whether much the same thing could happen to the hypothesis of a Deuteronomistic History. O'Brien himself cogently remarks, "The foundations on which Noth constructed it [the Dtr hypothesis] have been undermined to such an extent by these developments that — if they are correct — those foundations will need to be relaid or the hypothesis dismantled" (4). Ironically, while O'Brien is convinced that he is "relaying foundations", the ultimate effect of his work seems to help with the dismantling of Noth's single, theologically creative author.

Where does scholarship go from here? Is Dtr from the time of the exile, Hezekiah, or Josiah? Were there two editions or three? Was Dtr a creative author of tendentious fiction (Hoffmann) or a careful collector of traditional sources? Should we abandon the vexations of historical criticism in order to escape to the (allegedly) more solid ground of literary criticism (R. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist* [New York 1980])? For his part, O'Brien holds fast to the source-critical task and points us firmly in the direction of a hopeful Josianic historian, but one deeply dependent on a theologically creative predecessor, the Prophetic Record.

Nostalgia has no place in scholarship, but perhaps the time has come for us to re-read Noth with an open mind. The idea of a Deuteronomistic Historian, in a form something like that proposed by him in 1941, still explains so much so well that it deserves a fair and sympathetic hearing even after fifty years.

Lutheran Theological Seminary  
Gettysburg, PA 17325  
USA

Richard D. NELSON

Lilian R. KLEIN, *The Triumph of Irony in the Book of Judges* (JSOT Supplement Series 68; Bible and Literature Series 14). Sheffield, The Almond Press, 1988. 260 p. \$42.50.

La revue *JSOT* et la série de suppléments qu'elle publie ont habitué leurs lecteurs à d'excellentes études littéraires de passages bibliques ou même de livres entiers. Elle présente cette fois, conjointement à une autre série d'études de la même veine, une nouvelle approche synchronique du livre des

Juges. Ce livre, considéré d'emblée comme une entité littérairement structurée et unifiée, fait l'objet d'une lecture d'ensemble qui dégage la structure narrative et met en évidence l'un des facteurs déterminants de celle-ci: l'ironie qui naît de l'opposition de perspectives contrastantes, voire opposées. Ainsi, selon la présentation de l'auteur, le peuple d'Israël oppose son propre dessein, la conquête du pays et la victoire sur ses ennemis, à celui de Yhwh qui cherche essentiellement l'intégrité de l'alliance qui l'unit à son peuple. Mais ce dernier devra supporter les conséquences de son choix: vouloir posséder la Terre en négligeant l'alliance et son code éthique le mène peu à peu à la dissolution et au chaos.

Une longue «exposition» (1,1-3,11) présente d'ailleurs les termes de cette opposition majeure en juxtaposant deux points de vue divergents sur une même réalité, la conquête. D'une part, Israël envahit le pays et s'y installe (ch. 1); d'autre part, Yhwh dénonce l'infidélité de ces conquérants qui laissent subsister des nations idolâtres, honorent leurs dieux et se lient à eux (2,1-3,6). Après la figure paradigmatique d'Othniel, type et mesure de chacun des juges à venir, commence le récit de la lente dérive du peuple de l'alliance. Ce récit passe par un certain nombre d'histoires individuelles qui constituent autant d'étapes de ce processus. A chaque étape, un personnage-clé intervient, un «juge», dont la figure est emblématique de la situation d'Israël face à Yhwh, une situation qui se dégrade jusqu'à ce qu'au terme, Israël sombre dans des pratiques anti-yahwistes au nom même de Yhwh: idolâtrie (17,3.13), guerre civile et destruction de tribus, de villes et de l'unité du peuple (20,19-21; 21,5) ainsi que rapt de jeunes filles (21,19-21). Même les «petits» juges contribuent à la dérive selon l'A.: trois sur cinq sont des agents de clans (catégorie non-yahwiste, correspondant à un éclatement d'Israël) et non des tribus (entités voulues par Yhwh pour l'organisation de l'unité du peuple). Que ces leaders aient fondé de riches clans qui portent leurs noms (10,4; 12,9.14) est le signe qu'ils servaient des valeurs mondaines au détriment de l'alliance et de l'unité du peuple.

Le récit entier développe donc une ironie qui se nourrit du contraste grandissant entre le paradigme formulé dans l'histoire idéale d'Othniel (1,12-15 et 3,7-11) et les comportements des autres juges. Cette ironie est amplifiée, au plan des histoires individuelles, par un jeu d'oppositions de tous genres: contraste entre deux personnages d'un même récit (p.ex. Débora et Yaël), entre un juge et une autre figure biblique (p.ex. Gédéon et Moïse, Jephthé et Abraham), entre une annonce et sa réalisation (chez Gédéon ou Samson), entre une scène-type et sa mise en œuvre dans le récit (cf. Samson), ou encore opposition de deux points de vue différents sur un même événement, comme au c. 20 où le narrateur, à propos de la défaite de Benjamin, fournit côte à côte deux versions discordantes des faits: celle d'Israël (vv. 29-32 et 36b-46) et celle de Yhwh (vv. 33-36a). L'ironie ira aussi se nicher dans les noms propres, les jeux de mots ou dans telle ou telle remarque discrète du narrateur. Elle joue abondamment des écarts de connaissance qui peuvent exister entre les personnages, entre ceux-ci et le narrateur et entre ce dernier et le lecteur. Dans un appendice (195-199), l'A. esquisse une théorie littéraire à propos de l'ironie.



Cet essai met l'accent, je crois, sur l'une des constantes du livre des Juges, et la thèse est bien illustrée. Mais on peut se demander si, emportée par sa démonstration, l'A. ne tombe pas parfois dans un certain unilatéralisme à l'appui de sa thèse. En tout cas, on aimerait que le décodage de la signification des données et du symbolisme soit davantage argumenté et que les diverses possibilités de sens soient envisagées. Ainsi, p. ex., l'A. interprète l'absence de Yhwh dans le récit des hauts-faits d'Ehud et de Yaël comme un désaveu implicite de leur manière d'agir. Mais un silence est de lecture difficile. Après tout, si Yhwh suscite un Benjaminite (« fils de la droite ») gaucher ou la femme d'un allié de l'ennemi, c'est peut-être aussi bien pour la ruse dont sont capables ces héros inattendus. Autre exemple: dans deux notices sur des « petits juges » (Yaïr et Abdôn), on signale que les fils du juge montent des ânon, symbole de pouvoir ou au moins de richesse. L'A. y voit un signe de ce qu'Israël glisse vers de nouvelles valeurs « mondaines » et opposées à l'alliance, la prospérité ou le pouvoir. C'est une lecture, mais d'autres sont possibles: signe du goût d'Israël pour une succession dynastique (important en prévision de 1 S), ou plus simplement un indice du rayonnement de ces juges, souligné pour compenser la brièveté de la notice qui leur est consacrée... Ou encore, quand Jephthé parle avec le roi des Ammonites, il rappelle des épisodes de la fin du séjour au désert en les déformant avant de plaider pour un *statu quo* territorial, chaque nation gardant la terre que son Dieu, Yhwh ou Kamosh, lui a donnée. De là, l'A. conclut que Jephthé ne connaît pas la tradition yahwiste et qu'il met Yhwh sur le même pied qu'une divinité nationale étrangère. Mais, dans une négociation difficile avec un ennemi, est-il interdit de schématiser l'histoire ancienne pour renforcer l'argumentation? Et n'est-ce pas faire preuve de diplomatie que d'adopter le point de vue de son interlocuteur, même pour parler de Dieu? Si la polysémie est une des clés de compréhension de la narration biblique, on peut regretter que l'A. n'y soit pas davantage attentive.

D'autres points mériteraient d'être discutés. Je pense entre autre aux nombreuses conjectures sur la signification des noms propres qui, malgré leur caractère hypothétique, deviennent partie intégrante de l'argumentation (voir p. ex. p. 70, 97, 121, 123). De même, dans l'interprétation des silences d'un récit, et de ses détails (disparition des noms propres, légères variations dans le vocabulaire, emploi de tel ou tel mot), la prudence est de rigueur, car on risque vite de solliciter le texte à l'appui d'une interprétation qui ne s'impose pas forcément. La présentation du texte est soignée, malgré quelques coquilles, mais on déplorera la fantaisie qui règne en maître dans la transcription des mots hébreux. La consultation de l'ouvrage est facilitée par d'excellents index, principalement celui des sujets. Bref, une bonne thèse et une lecture stimulante de Jg, que n'aurait pas desservies une argumentation plus serrée, un surplus de rigueur.

## Novum Testamentum

Chrys C. CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock* (BZNW 58). Berlin-New York, W. de Gruyter, 1990. ix-157 p. 23,3 × 15,7. DM 64, —.

Le travail de Chrys C. Caragounis sur Mt 16,13-20, plus précisément sur Mt 16,17-19, voire même Mt 16,18, se veut une réaction salutaire contre un consensus trompeur que l'auteur voit progressivement s'instaurer concernant l'exégèse de la péricope de la confession de Pierre. Ce consensus repose, selon lui, sur une série de présupposés non justifiés tels que: en grec, *petra* signifie toujours le roc et *petros* la pierre; un jeu de mots exige la répétition du même lexème, si bien que l'actuel texte grec de Mt 16,18 doit être considéré comme la traduction d'un original araméen portant deux fois le terme *kyp'*; l'araméen *kyp'* et le grec *Petros* sont inconnus comme noms propres de personne avant l'ère chrétienne, si bien que l'attribution à Simon du nom nouveau de *kyp'* doit être considérée comme une création onomastique de Jésus. Cependant le présupposé non vérifié qui, aux yeux de Caragounis, grève le plus l'exégèse actuelle de Mt 16,18, c'est l'idée communément admise que, dans ce verset, *petra* renvoie à *Petros* et que, par voie de conséquence, l'apôtre Pierre y est regardé comme le fondement de l'Eglise. C'est donc ce présupposé qui sera la cible privilégiée de l'auteur dans son ouvrage. Ses conclusions sont les suivantes: la grammaire, la lexicologie comme l'onomastique tant en grec qu'en araméen ou en syriaque, l'exégèse de la séquence matthéenne resituée dans son contexte et saisie dans sa cohérence interne, tout s'oppose à l'opinion suivant laquelle, en Mt 16,18, le mot *petra* renvoie au nom *Petros*. La pierre de fondation sur laquelle Jésus construira son Eglise, ce n'est pas la personne de Pierre, ni même Pierre confessant sa foi; c'est le *contenu* (107) de la profession de foi messianique explicitée en Mt 16,16. Même si elle est défendue avec une ardeur passionnée et des arguments pour une part renouvelés, la thèse n'est pas entièrement neuve. On saura gré cependant à Caragounis d'avoir réouvert le dossier à frais nouveaux, sans se laisser rebuter par la diversité des enquêtes à mener, dans des domaines aussi variés que pointus.

Avant de donner mon sentiment sur les conclusions de l'ouvrage, je voudrais faire une remarque préliminaire sur la méthode adoptée par l'auteur. Je le rejoins tout à fait dans son souci de mettre l'accent sur la nécessité d'une première approche de type synchronique, comme dans son insistance sur le fait que c'est l'actuel texte grec de Matthieu qu'il faut commenter, et non un possible, mais hypothétique, original araméen. Incontestablement, cela permet de mieux saisir le mouvement d'ensemble et la cohérence interne du récit; de mieux saisir, en particulier, que c'est à hauteur de Mt 16,15, avec la seconde question de Jésus introduite par *legei autois* (présent historique, asyndète), que commence la phase décisive de la séquence narrative (84-85). Je me pose toutefois une question: pour pénétrer dans l'intelligence d'une péricope aussi complexe que Mt 16,13-20, pour démêler plus précisément l'écheveau de Mt 16,17-19, peut-on faire complètement l'économie d'une approche de type diachronique? Personnellement, je ne le pen-

se pas. On ne peut se contenter du constat du manque d'homogénéité de Mt 16,17-19 tant au plan de la forme (énoncés liés en Mt 16,18; asyndètes en Mt 16,19) qu'au plan du fond (Jésus agissant personnellement en Mt 16,18, déléguant ses pouvoirs à Pierre en Mt 16,19); il faut essayer de préciser, en toute indépendance par rapport aux pressions extérieures, lequel de tous les énoncés du segment est la meilleure expression de la pensée matthéenne. Cédant à ce qui me semble un autre présupposé non fondé du consensus exégétique actuel, Caragounis cherche cet énoncé en Mt 16,18; il le trouve en *en tautêi têt petrâi oikodomêsô mou tèn ekklêsian*, séparé, il est vrai, de l'énoncé qui précède immédiatement; et, pendant ce temps, Mt 16,19 est plus ou moins relégué au rang d'appendice (86). Les propres réflexions de l'auteur sur la figure de Pierre chez Matthieu comme sur le contexte de la péricope de la confession auraient dû le conduire, me semble-t-il, à proposer une autre solution. Personnellement, j'y ai vu une confirmation de ma conviction: en Mt 16,17-19, la proposition la plus représentative de la pensée matthéenne se trouve être le: *dôsô soi tas kleidas tês basileias tôn ouranôn* de Mt 16,19a. Pour le rédacteur du premier évangile, la question ecclésiologique majeure n'est pas celle de la primauté de Pierre ou celle de l'instauration d'une hiérarchie à pointe monarchique: l'ecclésiologie de Matthieu est fondamentalement une ecclésiologie de la fraternité (Mt 23,8-12). Pour lui, le problème crucial est celui de la légitimité de l'Eglise du Fils du Dieu Vivant dans ses prétentions à ouvrir les portes du Royaume des Cieux, face à la contestation de plus en plus ouverte d'une Synagogue toujours là et bien là. Pour Matthieu, la promesse jadis faite à Pierre en Mt 16,19 légitime le pouvoir aujourd'hui exercé dans l'Eglise (Mt 18,18). En d'autres termes, en tant que premier (Mt 10,2) destinataire des promesses de Jésus, Pierre est, pour Matthieu, le garant fondamental de la continuité existant entre l'*exousia* jadis exercée par le Fils de l'Homme et l'actuelle praxis ecclésiale (Mt 9,6-8; 28,18-20).

Ces premières précisions apportées, venons-en à Mt 16,18 (où je vois donc davantage l'expression d'une tradition pré-matthéenne que celle de Matthieu lui-même) ainsi qu'à la thèse majeure de Caragounis: en ce verset, *petra* ne renvoie pas à *Petros*, mais au contenu de la promesse de foi messianique rapportée en Mt 16,16. Je présenterai mon point de vue en deux parties: la solution proposée n'est pas sans faille; les arguments présentés à l'encontre de la solution commune ne me paraissent pas d'égale valeur.

Je vois deux limites principales à la thèse de Caragounis. La première: l'existence du jeu de mots n'y est peut-être pas remise en cause; mais, malgré tout, l'énoncé *sy ei Petros* y devient quelque peu haut le pied. L'auteur lui-même ne me semble pas d'ailleurs avoir été insensible à la chose. En effet, l'hypothèse, sans doute annexe, d'une proposition fonctionnant comme l'équivalent d'une formule de serment (aussi vrai que tu es Pierre, sur ce roc de ce que tu viens de dire, je construirai mon Eglise), paraît bien être là pour colmater la brèche. Je crains toutefois qu'elle ne convainque que peu de monde: la solennité de la déclaration de Jésus est déjà marquée par son énoncé introductif *kâgo de soi legô hoti*; et il est inutile d'en rajouter. Deuxième limite: Caragounis ironise quelque peu sur une lecture de Mt 16,13-20 qui fait de la péricope de Pierre confessant Jésus une péricope de

Jésus confessant Pierre (94-95). Mes réflexions précédentes sur l'ecclésiologie matthéenne montrent que je souscris pour une bonne part à la malice de cette appréciation. Cependant, réponse du berger à la bergère — que cette outrecuidance me soit pardonnée! — je crains que Caragounis ne fasse de la confession de Pierre une véritable révélation... pour Jésus; avec, en prime, une formule de quasi-serment sur le nom même du disciple (106-113). Il me semble pour le moins difficile d'harmoniser ce point de vue avec celui de Mt 16,17.

Fragile sous plusieurs de ses aspects, la lecture de Mt 16,18 proposée par Caragounis me paraît également se débarrasser un peu vite de sa rivale, la lecture plus commune. Les objections que l'auteur lui fait sont regroupées en quatre séries. La première d'entre elles relève de la grammaire et de la syntaxe. Y est surtout souligné que la présence de *tautêi* devant *petrâi* interdit le renvoi de ce terme à *Petros*: « Une locution comme *epi tautêi tei petrâi* peut seulement renvoyer à quelque chose d'autre que le locuteur et le locutaire » (88-89). L'argument est pour le moins paradoxal, *houtos* étant par excellence un démonstratif de la proximité et de l'instance de l'énonciation. Pour justifier mon extrême perplexité, je ne citerai que deux exemples tirés de l'*Œdipe Roi* de Sophocle: *houtos sy, pôs deur'êlthes*; (v. 532) et *houtos sy, presby, deuro moi* (v. 1121). Autrement dit, l'argument ici avancé non seulement n'atteint pas son but; mais, me semble-t-il, il se retourne contre celui qui le manipule.

La seconde série d'objections faites à la lecture commune *Petros/petra* en Mt 16,18 gravite autour de la lexicologie et de l'onomastique. Caragounis y réinvestit les résultats de la longue enquête qu'il a précédemment menée (9-43). C'est pourquoi je crois opportun de reprendre d'assez près les conclusions avancées. Au plan sémantique, les exemples produits (9-16) montrent bien qu'en grec la distinction *petra*/le roc et *petros*/la pierre est effectivement moins ferme qu'on ne le dit généralement; et également, qu'elle va décroissant. Mais je ne comprends pas la conclusion que l'auteur tire de ce constat pour l'exégèse de Mt 16,18: si les termes *petra* et *petros* sont effectivement interchangeables, je ne vois pas comment on peut faire de la « juxtaposition consciente » des deux lexèmes dans le verset matthéen un argument pour y contester le renvoi de l'un à l'autre; selon moi, c'est plutôt une objection à ce renvoi qui devient caduque. Bref, ici encore, l'argumentation me paraît se retourner contre son auteur. Pour ce qui est de l'araméen, la dérive sémantique du terme *kyp'* du sens de roc à celui de pierre n'est guère contestable. Je ne pense pas cependant que l'on puisse s'appuyer sur le targum des Proverbes pour faire remonter cette dérive au début de l'ère chrétienne (28-29); très proche de la version syriaque du livre — dont il pourrait même s'inspirer —, le targum des Proverbes ne peut être considéré comme un témoin de l'araméen du temps de Jésus. En revanche, même s'ils ne doivent pas être notre seule référence en la matière, les textes araméens de Qumran ont l'avantage de nous garantir un *terminus ad quem* incontournable. Or leur témoignage sur le sens à donner à *kyp'* est unanime: que ce soit en 11Q Tg Jb 32,1; 33,9 ou en 4Q En<sup>c</sup> et<sup>e</sup>, ils nous tiennent très éloignés de l'équation *kyp'* = pierre ou caillou. En ce qui concerne le syriaque, je ne crois pas que l'on puisse écrire que les chrétiens utilisant cette langue

ont fait tout leur possible pour préserver en Mt 16,18 la distinction entre *Petros* et *petra* (117). Il me semble pour le moins difficile de nier qu'en rendant le jeu de mots grec *Petros/petra* par un *k'p'* redoublé, alors que le plus souvent elles traduisent *petra* par *sw<sup>e</sup>*, *syrc<sup>ur</sup>* et *syrc<sup>pes</sup>* n'ont pas voulu valoriser le lien existant entre le nom de l'apôtre et le roc sur lequel Jésus fondera son Eglise; que *k'p'* soit féminin, comme pierre en français, change peu de chose à l'affaire — comme en français d'ailleurs. Nous reviendrons sur le témoignage d'Aphraate (*Dém.* 1,17; 11,21); mais, dès maintenant, il nous semble pouvoir écrire qu'en élargissant le nom nouveau donné par Jésus à son disciple par l'expression *k'p' šryrt'* (= pierre ferme), il veut déjà compenser la perte sémantique du vocable *k'p'* en syriaque par rapport à son quasi-homonyme de l'araméen plus ancien. Autrement dit, Aphraate confirmerait donc indirectement l'idée que l'octroi du nom nouveau de *kyp'* donné à Simon implique les notions de solidité et de stabilité naturellement rattachées au concept de roc, étant bien entendu que nous n'isolons pas cette initiative dans le projet ecclésiologique global de Jésus et en particulier que nous ne la séparons pas de l'institution du groupe des Douze (Mc 3,16; 1 Co 15,5).

Mais venons-en justement à ce surnom. Sur ce point aussi, Caragounis attaque de front la position la plus commune: *kyp'* comme nom propre de personne n'est pas une création onomastique de Jésus; *Petros* n'en est pas la traduction, mais l'équivalent grec existant en tant que tel, dès avant que Pierre ne le porte. Pour l'araméen, Caragounis s'appuie sur le témoignage connu d'un papyrus d'Eléphantine datant de 416 av. J.-C. C'est un témoignage isolé, temporellement et spatialement distant de la Palestine du temps de Jésus; qui plus est, Fitzmyer et la plupart des commentateurs parlent seulement, à propos de ce papyrus, d'un *possible* usage du *kyp'* araméen comme nom propre de personne. De *Petros* nom propre, de l'aveu même de l'auteur (23-24), nous n'avons jusqu'à présent aucune attestation antérieure à la seconde moitié du premier siècle AD. Le plus sage me semble donc pour le moment d'attendre.

Ces réserves, importantes, vis-à-vis des conclusions de Caragounis au plan de la lexicologie et de l'onomastique ne veulent certes pas dire que, trop radical, le dossier patiemment rassemblé par ses soins est dépourvu d'intérêt. Personnellement il m'a éclairé sur plusieurs points. J'en mentionnerai deux.

1) L'interchangeabilité sémantique des termes *petros* et *petra* rend le premier des deux particulièrement apte à rendre l'araméen *kyp'*. Par ailleurs, ce choix de *petros*, un terme relativement rare et relevé (deux seuls emplois dans toute la Bible: 2 Mc 1,16; 4,41), au détriment du prosaïque *lithos* me semble exclure l'idée d'une traduction initialement dévaluée. J'ajouterai même que cette traduction a dû se faire très tôt (Ga 2,7-8), peut-être même dans les communautés palestiniennes fortement hellénisées du bord du lac de Tibériade. Cela expliquerait que la tradition synoptique, héritière de ces communautés, ne connaît pas le nom de *kyp'*, mais seulement celui de *Petros*, y compris en Mc 3,16 où l'absence de *kyp'* n'est pas sans surprendre. Dans le même sens, rappelons que le propre frère de Pierre s'appelait André et leur compatriote du groupe des Douze Philippe (Jn 1,44).

2) La sympathie du grec pour les noms propres de la racine *petr* explique sans doute aussi pourquoi le nom de *Petros* a pu apparemment émerger et se répandre sans référence patente ou tout au moins trop marquée à l'onomastique chrétienne dans des milieux extérieurs à celle-ci. Mais cette sympathie explique également l'apparente rapidité avec laquelle *Petros* s'est désémanché dans le monde chrétien. Chez Marc, le terme paraît avoir encore gardé toute sa valeur sémantique de nom nouveau; cf. le changement de nom dans la désignation du disciple à hauteur de Mc 3,16. Chez Luc, ce n'est plus que *Simôn, hon kai ônomasen Petron* (Lc 6,4) et le nom de l'apôtre valorisé semble bien être celui de Simon (Lc 22,31-32; 24,34). Chez Matthieu, dès son entrée en scène, c'est *Simôn, ho legomenos Petros* (Mt 4,18; cf. 10,2), à rapprocher des autres locutions matthéennes avec *legomenos* (Mt 2,23; 9,9; 26,3.14.36; 27,16.17.22.33). Chez Jean, l'emploi caractéristique de l'expression double Simon Pierre pourrait bien être aussi l'indice d'une désémanché de *Petros*, à laquelle s'efforceraient de remédier la présence explicative du terme *Kêphas* en Jn 1,42. Quant à la préférence paulinienne pour cette dernière appellation, alors que *Petros* circule déjà, elle fait penser à d'autres « aramâismes » pauliniens: *abba* (Ga 4,6; Ro 8,16), *marana tha* (1 Co 16,22); aussi pourrait-elle bien être l'indice de la place particulière que l'apôtre des Gentils reconnaissait à Céphas, par-delà les tensions du quotidien et les ambiguïtés naissant autour de sa personne.

Mais ici j'aborde une nouvelle série d'objections — la quatrième — que Caragounis fait à une lecture de Mt 16,13-20 conduisant à considérer Pierre comme le roc de fondation de l'Eglise: une telle lecture ne correspond, ni au portrait d'ensemble du disciple dans le premier évangile, ni au rôle effectivement tenu par celui-ci dans les communautés primitives. J'ai déjà donné mon sentiment sur le premier point: on trouve une cohérence au récit matthéen si l'on admet que le centre d'intérêt majeur de l'évangile, au plan communautaire, est moins « pétrinien » qu'ecclésial. Ce qui est d'abord en cause, c'est l'Eglise; Pierre vient ensuite. Quant au rôle effectivement tenu par le disciple dans les communautés primitives, il est manifeste que, dans une situation marquée par la pluralité ce n'est pas de lui que viennent toutes les initiatives; il est non moins évident qu'il n'est nulle part présenté comme un intouchable. Je note cependant que son rôle de « référence », même contestée, dépasse apparemment les communautés relevant de son obédience; je pense ici aux communautés johanniques, à l'Eglise de Corinthe. D'une façon plus précise encore, je relève que, même dans des courants ecclésiaux qui ne lui sont pas inconditionnellement acquis, on reconnaît à Pierre un certain rôle de garant venant sanctionner la validité d'une démarche ou d'une initiative. C'est Paul montant à Jérusalem *après* son premier ministère (Ga 1,18; 2,2); c'est l'apparition du Ressuscité à Simon validant (*ontôs*) l'expérience pascalle de Cléophas et de son compagnon (Lc 24,34); dans les Actes, c'est Pierre validant une ouverture aux païens (Ac 15,7-11), dont il fut l'initiateur contraint par l'Esprit (Ac 10,1-11,18); chez Jean, malgré le rôle charismatique accordé au Bien-Aimé, c'est Pierre porte-parole, comme en Mt 16,16, de la foi apostolique (Jn 6,68-69) et, comme en Mt 16,18, plénipotentiaire testamentaire de Jésus (Jn 21,15-18). Bref, un logion faisant de Pierre le roc de fondation de l'Eglise, au sens où il est le porte-parole et le

garant de la foi de celle-ci (Mt 16,18), ainsi que la caution de l'*exousia* qu'elle prétend aujourd'hui détenir (Mt 16,19), un tel logion ne me paraît aberrant ou même simplement isolé, ni dans le corpus matthéen, ni par rapport aux autres corpus néo-testamentaires.

J'ai conservé pour la fin la troisième série d'objections que Caragounis fait à une lecture de Mt 16,18 dans laquelle *petra* renvoie à *Petros*. J'ai dit plus haut les difficultés qu'il y avait selon moi à en demeurer à une approche purement synchronique pour y voir clair en Mt 16,17-19. Ayant eu moi-même à travailler cette péripécie de la confession, j'ai cru pouvoir avancer l'hypothèse que Mt 16,17 et 19 étaient rédactionnels et que Mt 16,18 représentait la conclusion du récit-source de nos actuelles recensions évangéliques. Ce récit-source balisait, à l'intérieur de la communauté, le passage d'une *Prophetenchristologie* à une *Sohneschristologie* intégrant plus explicitement le mystère de la Mort-Résurrection du Fils du Dieu Vivant. Quant à Mt 16,18, il traduisait en ce contexte la conviction d'une communauté éprouvée qui voyait dans la présence de Pierre au milieu d'elle la garantie (déjà et toujours le même rôle attribué au disciple) du bien-fondé de sa foi christologique et de son espérance ecclésiale. Il n'en demeure pas moins que c'est l'actuel texte grec de Matthieu que, dans son ouvrage, Caragounis a très légitimement choisi de commenter. C'est donc sur ce registre qu'il faut lui répondre. Peut-on dire qu'au niveau de la rédaction matthéenne, la cohérence du récit-source serait compromise si l'on considère que *petra* y renvoie à *Petros*? Je n'en suis pas convaincu, même si j'ai déjà dit mon accord avec Caragounis sur le caractère décisif de l'échange rapporté en Mt 16,15-16. A la « vraie » question de Jésus, Pierre, au nom des disciples, apporte la bonne réponse. En sémiotique, on dira qu'avec cette bonne réponse, l'épreuve principale, la performance, est réalisée. Mais reste encore la phase de la sanction, dans le cadre de laquelle le destinataire porte son jugement sur le sujet et la performance accomplie. C'est la fonction remplie dans l'actuel récit matthéen par la solennelle déclaration de Jésus rapportée en Mt 16,17-19. Caragounis reconnaît la solennité de cette déclaration de Jésus (110-113); mais en parlant à son propos de digression (87), il rompt le lien organique qui réunit au sein d'un même programme narratif performance et sanction, ici confession de Jésus par Pierre et promesse de Jésus à Pierre: l'une ne va pas sans l'autre.

C'est sur l'arrière-plan de ces quelques considérations de grammaire narrative que, revenant à la lexicologie, j'essayerai de répondre à cette question conclusive: au niveau de la rédaction matthéenne, la fissure lexicale *Petros/petra* de Mt 16,18 est-elle ou non porteuse d'un sens et, si oui, duquel? L'enquête fouillée de Caragounis montre bien que l'on ne peut rien dire d'assuré en s'en tenant au sens des seuls lexèmes pris en eux-mêmes, leur champ sémantique pouvant se recouper. La réponse à la question posée ne peut venir que d'un examen du contexte large et plus limité. Nous avons déjà dit que, pour Matthieu, *Petros* semble bien un nom désémanisé; c'est la même impression qui se dégage de l'étude de Mt 16,13-20. Il y est tentant, en effet, d'homologuer l'opposition chair-sang vs révélation du Père de Mt 16,17 avec la différence *Petros* vs *petra* de Mt 16,18. Grâce à sa confession de foi rendue possible par la révélation du Père, *Petros*, simple dénomina-

tion, acquiert sa charge sémantique de *petra*, de roc sur lequel Jésus bâtira son Eglise. Autrement dit, c'est en confessant la foi comme porte-parole du groupe des disciples que Pierre donne corps au rôle auquel Jésus le destinait en lui donnant le nom nouveau de *kyp'*. Et ici comment ne pas citer Aphraate? «De même Simon qui est appelé Pierre (*k'p'*), c'est à cause de sa foi qu'il est appelé Roc, littéralement Pierre ferme (*k'p' šryrt'*)» (*Dém.* 1,17).

Le genre littéraire de la recension conduit souvent à souligner davantage les désaccords que les accords avec un auteur. En même temps qu'est présenté un ouvrage, il s'agit, en effet, d'engager un débat. Engager un débat, je crois que sur ce point le travail parfois provoquant, toujours stimulant de Caragounis y contribue beaucoup, nous obligeant à sortir d'un consensus sans doute un peu trop complaisant et à remettre la question sur le chantier. Pour cela, il mérite grandement d'être lu et travaillé.

Grand Séminaire  
5, rue d'Asfeld  
F-57045 Metz Cédex 01

Gérard CLAUDEL

Marie-Émile BOISMARD, *Moïse ou Jésus. Essai de Christologie Johannique* (BETL 84). Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1988. XVI-248 p. 24 × 16,5.

Dopo il grande commento al quarto vangelo (QV) in collaborazione con A. Lamouille (*L'évangile de Jean* [Paris 1977]), volto a dimostrare una precisa tesi storico-letteraria sull'origine del QV, ecco un saggio di cristologia giovannea del Boismard, che gli permette maggior libertà e un'esegesi talora «un peu subtile» (44).

Nella prefazione l'A. espone brevemente lo scopo, il metodo e la collocazione storico-ermeneutica dell'opera. Lo *scopo* è «comprendre comment dans l'évangile de Jean, Jésus réalise en sa personne la promesse faite par Dieu d'envoyer à son peuple un prophète semblable à Moïse (Dt 18,18-19). Pour les Juifs, il fallait donc choisir entre Moïse et Jésus» (Jn 9,28-34) (XIII). Attorno a questo tema principale, oggetto del primo capitolo, che abbraccia la metà di tutto il saggio (1-71), sono sviluppati, di seguito, e più brevemente, dei temi armonici col principale: Gesù sapienza di Dio fatto uomo, Parola incarnata, l'unigenito, e Dio lui stesso. Essendo un saggio, vengono escluse altre tematiche importanti come quella del «Figlio dell'uomo». Quanto al *metodo*, l'A. sceglie «une optique synchronique» (XIV), pur debordando in quello diacronico più di quello che egli si propone. Per quanto concerne, infine, la prospettiva *ermeneutica*, Boismard si pone in netto contrasto con la teologia giovannea di Bultmann, interpretata alla luce del mito gnostico del redentore redento, dimenticando quasi totalmente l'AT; per l'A. invece «le Christ johannique se situe avant tout dans la ligne des prophètes, et spécialement de Moïse» (xv).

Al saggio, propriamente detto, che comprende sette capitoli, seguono, in appendice, tre articoli, pubblicati fra il 1956 e 1973, che hanno in qualche



modo rapporto con le tematiche precedentemente sviluppate: «Aenon, près de Salem» (145-158), «Une liturgie baptismale dans la *Prima Petri*» (159-216), «Je renonce à Satan...» (217-222). Gli indici biblici, quelli degli autori e le abbreviazioni concludono il volume.

La tesi principale del Boismard non è nuova. Basti ricordare solo la monografia di H. Sahlin (*Zur Typologie des Johannesevangeliums* [Uppsala 1950]) o lo studio di G. Reim (*Studien...* [Cambridge 1975]), quest'ultimo citato dallo stesso A. (xv). Ed è una tesi largamente condivisa dagli esegeti. Il problema semmai riguarda l'ampiezza dei riferimenti e il loro sfondo storico-culturale.

Il punto di partenza è il testo di Dt 18,18-19: utilizzato da Geremia (Ger 1,7,9), cosciente di realizzare la profezia; presente in Qumrân solo in raccolte di testi (4Q 158,6; 175); e presso i Samaritani solo in testi molto recenti, dove il profeta simile a Mosè è identificato col Taheb, mentre è assente nella *Memar Marqah* del IV secolo d.C.; è noto peraltro che i Samaritani davano un'importanza speciale a Dt 18,18-19; ritenendo infatti «Scrittura» solo il Pentateuco, fondavano le loro speranze escatologiche in questo testo, che nel «loro» Pentateuco appariva una seconda volta dopo Es 20,21. A questo punto, introducendo il tema del «profeta simile a Mosè» nel QV, inaspettatamente l'A. parte da un accurato «status quaestionis» delle tradizioni samaritane nel QV a partire dal 1958 fino al 1982 (5-6) con le ragioni pro e contro, e conclude: «Nous allons simplement apporter des arguments nouveaux pour montrer d'une part l'importance dans le quatrième évangile du thème de Jésus nouveau Moïse; d'autre part l'insertion de ce thème dans la pensée samaritaine» (7). La dimostrazione si snoda in quattro parti, legate fra di loro dall'oggetto trattato più che da un'interna logica argomentativa. Nella *prima* esamina i testi giovannei con riferimento esplicito a «il profeta», in parallelismo con «il Cristo» (7,40.41; 7,52; 6,14 e 1,21-22). Ora, in tali testi, «il Cristo» è il re messia, aspettato dalla famiglia di David, da Betlemme (Gv 7,41-42), mentre «il profeta, che deve venire nel mondo» (6,14; cf. 11,27) si rapporta all'oracolo di Dt 18,18-19, tanto più che il referente di Gv 6,30 ss. è proprio Mosè. La *seconda* parte, in cui si studiano i testi impliciti, è talora problematica. L'A., fondandosi sullo «style imitativ» (11), va alla ricerca dei testi che si ispirano al «profeta come Mosè», seguendo in ciò il modello del profeta Geremia. Sette testi vengono addotti come «imitativi»: 1) 12,48-50 e Dt 18,18-19 con il Targum a Dt 18,19: «io, con la mia parola, mi vendicherò» (15). 2) 8,28-29 e Nm 16,18 («non da me stesso»); e ancora: Es 3,12; 4,12 e 15,16. 3) 14,10+7,16b-17 e Nm 16,28 («fare le opere»). 4) 17,8 e Dt 18,18 («le parole che tu mi hai dato»). 5) 19,17-18: Gesù crocifisso fra due «uno da una parte ed uno dall'altra» e Mosè che prega, sostenuto da una parte e dall'altra da Aronne e da Ur (Es 17,8-13). 6) L'esodo di Gesù (13,1) e il passaggio dell'anima in Filone, nell'interpretazione della Pasqua (platonismo); inoltre 14,2-4 e Dt 1,33 (Targum) hanno in comune «andare a preparare un posto». 7) Mosè e Gesù vengono contrapposti nel processo del cieco guarito (19,28-29).

La *terza* serie di testi è costituita dal racconto della vocazione di Natanael (1,45-49), nel quadro più ampio dell'unità letteraria 1,19-51. La dimostrazione è scontata (1,41-42 confrontato con 1,45-47). Più problematico in-

vece mi sembra il ricorso alle tradizioni samaritane per identificare Gesù «figlio di Giuseppe» con l'erede regale del patriarca Giuseppe (2,5), e proprio per questo chiamato «figlio di Giuseppe» (1,45) (33-41).

La quarta serie di testi è legata all'ipotesi di una fonte dei «segni», di cui i primi tre, contati, sarebbero i due di Cana (2,1 ss.; 4,46 ss.) e il terzo la pesca miracolosa (21,1-14). Ora, sempre in base allo «stile imitativo» i tre segni farebbero riferimento ai tre segni promessi a Mosè per essere autenticato come profeta: il segno del bastone, quello della mano lebbrosa e l'acqua del fiume cambiata in sangue (Es 4,1-9); tre sarebbero gli elementi comuni: la numerazione, la funzione apologetica e il nome di «segni». Nella fonte di Gv i segni sarebbero stati sette (la pesca miracolosa sarebbe stato il terzo, e perciò andrebbe collocata prima della guarigione del paralitico in Gv 5,1 ss.). Perché l'evangelista avrebbe spostato il terzo segno? Per far sì che il settimo segno coincidesse con la risurrezione del corpo di Cristo (2,19.21) (56).

Una breve, buona sintesi conclude il I capitolo: Gesù, come «il profeta» è l'inviato di Dio (*pempein* in Gv è più caratteristico di *apostellein*); anche il verbo «venire» esprime la coscienza della missione; non viene né opera «da se stesso» (cf. Nm 16,28). Lo scopo della sua missione speciale è trasmettere le parole di Dio. Le prove della missione sono «i segni». Le conseguenze dell'accettazione o del rifiuto sono la vita o la morte. Gesù dunque è il profeta simile a Mosè, ma anche a lui superiore. Perché superiore? Vi rispondono i cinque brevi capitoli seguenti, «armonici» col primo (73). Gesù, anzitutto, realizza il ruolo di Mosè in modo superiore: «parce qu'il est la Sagesse de Dieu venue dans le monde» (73). Il QV lo lascia intendere facendo pronunciare a Gesù le parole che pronuncia la sapienza nei libri sapienziali. L'A. lega a questo tema 14,21; 3,12-13 = Bar 3,29 (inusuale); 1,41 e Sap 6,14; ma soprattutto il discorso sul pane di vita. In questa trattazione della sapienza, il Boismard ricorre alla sua teoria sull'origine del QV per attribuire al redattore finale il tema della risurrezione (d'accordo con Bultmann) (88-89); l'evangelista invece avrebbe pensato con Sap 2,2-3 che gli empi sarebbero stati annientati e la vita dei salvati sarebbe l'immortalità (87). «L'auteur du quatrième évangile a donc adopté une eschatologie individuelle de type platonicien» (89). Il terzo capitolo tratta «La parole de Dieu incarnée», utilizzando la teoria del Boismard sul prologo: l'inno primitivo (Gv 1,1ab.3-5) è rivolto al Logos creatore, mentre l'inno opera dell'evangelista (il prologo attuale), che pone al centro la nuova generazione, mette a confronto il Logos incarnato con Mosè, rilevandone la superiorità (1,14.17). Nel capitolo quarto sull'Unigenito, l'A. minimizza il valore trascendente dei testi con «Figlio di Dio», perfino 10,35-36 (114); Gesù sarebbe «figlio di Dio» come Mosè. «Ce titre n'implique pas une préférence à se faire 'Dieu' au sens transcendant» (115); la condanna di Gesù è perciò ingiusta. L'essere trascendente di Gesù è invece definito dal titolo dato a lui solo in Gv: *l'Unigenito*; qui appare la differenza radicale di Gesù con la sapienza, che è creata. «Puisque le Logos est Dieu, il ne peut pas avoir été créé. Ainsi le Logos est 'Unique-Engendré' en vertu d'une relation *ad intra*...» (117). Lo è con l'incarnazione (capo 5), professata in 1,13 (seguendo la lezione singolare, tenuta dalla scuola francese e confermata dall'A. col ri-

corso al testo strano di Enoc 15,4, ben lontano, a mio avviso, da Gv 1,13). Per questo Gesù verrebbe chiamato «Unigenito» solo dopo aver enunciato l'incarnazione nel seno di Maria (126). Il capo 6 si impegna, infine, sul tema della divinità di Gesù (*Jésus est Dieu*). L'A. a questo proposito distingue giustamente due serie di testi: quelli in cui viene usata la formula «Io sono» e quelli in cui Gesù viene chiamato esplicitamente «Dio». Solo la formula assoluta «Io sono» (8,24.28.58), con stile imitativo di Es 3,14 e Is 45,18, ha significato trascendente. Per quanto concerne il titolo «Dio»: sarebbe dato a Gesù solo in Gv 1,1-2 e 1 Gv 5,20, mentre in Gv 20,28 (il «Signor mio e Dio mio» di Tomaso) avrebbe significato funzionale (131; si veda l'argomentazione a p. 111-112). Infine, Gv 17,3, aggiunto dal redattore, sarebbe una reazione giudeo-cristiana alla confessione della divinità di Gesù. L'ultimo capitolo, 7, riassume l'evoluzione della cristologia giovannea secondo i quattro stadi ipotizzati nell'opera principale del Boismard: nel documento D la cristologia era essenzialmente quella del 'nuovo Mosè' (Dt 18,18-19); nel secondo stadio (Jean IIA) il tema si arricchisce di un nuovo armonico: Gesù è superiore a Mosè perché è la Sapienza di Dio incarnata, attraverso cui si accede alla vita eterna; nel terzo stadio (Jean IIB) l'evangelista, illuminato dallo Spirito, conduce la cristologia al suo punto massimo, completando la cristologia sapienziale con quella della Parola di Dio incarnata, dell'Unigenito e di Gesù «Dio», che si appropria del nome stesso di Dio con «Io sono»; nel quarto stadio (Jean III) il redattore avrebbe reagito all'attribuzione del titolo «Dio» (Gv 17,3), e l'A. si affretta ad aggiungere: «*Bien entendu, on aurait tort de s'appuyer sur ce texte pour nier la divinité du Christ*» (142); sarebbe solo un segno delle difficoltà incontrate da alcuni giudeo-cristiani.

Esposto ampiamente il contenuto dell'opera, è difficile esprimere un giudizio globale su un lavoro, che percorre sentieri spesso tortuosi di critica letteraria e storico-religiosa. Nell'insieme potrei dire però che rivela, nei particolari una grande sottigliezza di argomentazione letteraria, ma un'estrema debolezza sul piano della logica propriamente storica. Vi si notano, anzitutto, delle chiare opzioni previe di critica letteraria e storico-religiosa. Nonostante che nella prefazione l'A. dichiari di attenersi ad «*une optique synchronique*» (xiv), in realtà l'ottica sottesa rimane sempre quella diacronica, anche se ricompare esplicitamente solo nel capitolo 7 finale. La microanalisi dei testi può certo rilevare in essi delle tensioni (un chiaro esempio è Gv 11,25-26 nel confronto con 8,12a, riportato a p. 88). Ciò nonostante rimane l'alternativa di fondo: se i testi formalmente non coerenti rivelano aggiunte posteriori (tesi di Boismard e Bultmann) o sono composizioni dell'evangelista con materiale tradizionale di origine varia (un esempio vistoso a tale riguardo è Gv 4,43-45 dove 4,44 sembra contraddire 4,43.45, ed è invece un resto di tradizione sinottica). Per rimanere all'esempio dell'A., egli sostiene che 11,25b-26 («e anche se muore vivrà e chi vive e crede in me...») sarebbe dovuto al redattore finale (Jean III), perché presuppone un'escatologia futura, mentre il testo originale dell'evangelista (11,25a e 26b) rifletterebbe un'antropologia platonica, che nega la risurrezione perché è Gesù stesso la risurrezione: «*Chi crede in me è passato dalla morte alla vita*» (5,25). «*L'auteur du QE a donc adopté une eschatologie individuelle*

de type platonicien. Par son âme, celui qui croit en Jésus ne meurt pas; en ce sens que son âme... a obtenu l'immortalité» (89). E qui raggiungiamo la seconda opzione, quella storico-religiosa: l'evangelista, per influsso del libro della Sapienza e di Filone, seguirebbe tendenze platoniche; per cui «vita eterna» sarebbe lo stesso che «immortalità dell'anima». Ciò che mi sembra assolutamente insostenibile per il QV. «Eterno» infatti ha rapporto col tempo ed è di derivazione biblica (Dn 12,2) mentre «immortale» ha rapporto con l'essere e non si trova mai nel NT. Il passaggio dalla morte alla vita (Gv 5,25) non è il passaggio dalla mortalità all'immortalità, ma dalla mancanza di vita divina al dono di una nuova vita (Gv 1,12-13; 3,3-5). In prospettiva sincronica invece il testo di 11,25-26 come sta è perfettamente coerente con la narrazione, in quanto si riferisce al successivo risuscitamento di Lazzaro. In conclusione, le analisi dei problemi sono spesso giuste, ma le soluzioni di critica letteraria e storico-religiosa sono guidate da chiare opzioni previe. La soluzione alternativa è che l'evangelista abbia composto, seguendo una logica diversa dalla nostra, tradizioni di varia origine in stile unitario e con sensibilità verso l'ambiente giudeo-ellenistico.

Non potendo dilungarmi nella critica a tutti i punti particolari, mi limiterò a quattro. Il primo riguarda l'influsso samaritano su Gesù, «figlio di Giuseppe», che poggia sulla *Memar Marqah* del IV secolo d. C. (36). Siccome ovviamente è molto tardiva (pur applicandovi la critica letteraria per risalire a tradizioni più antiche), per ricostruire le tradizioni anteriori l'A. ricorre alla «tradizione rabbinica» (37-41). Non si capisce però in che modo, storicamente, si operi il passaggio dalla tradizione rabbinica-farisaica alla dottrina samaritana, come sembra sostenere l'A. (44). Ancor meno plausibile mi sembra la tradizione di Gesù «figlio di Giuseppe» (1,45), che farebbe di Gesù un personaggio della escatologia samaritana, erede del glorioso patriarca (33-44). Non basta infatti un motivo isolato come Gv 2,5 in relazione a Gn 41,55 per supporre un modello, tanto più che «figlio di Giuseppe» compare anche in 6,42, addirittura nella mormorazione dei Giudei. Un secondo punto riguarda i tre segni di Galilea, di cui abbiamo già parlato. Che i primi due abbiano un legame fra loro non fa difficoltà; è il terzo che l'A. non riesce ad inserire se non ricorrendo ad una simbolica implausibile (56-58); su questo punto ci sarebbe molto da discutere, ma lo spazio limitato di una recensione non lo permette. Un terzo punto problematico riguarda le pagine sul «Figlio di Dio», che nel QV non avrebbe mai senso trascendente neppure in 10,33 ss., e l'A. scrive in proposito: «La paternité de Dieu sur Jésus s'étend à tous les disciples et n'a donc une portée transcendante» (112), dimenticando un dato notissimo di Gv: a differenza di Paolo egli distingue chiaramente fra *huios theou*, riservato solo a Gesù e *tekna theou* riservato ai credenti. Infine, quanto a 17,3, son d'accordo col Boismard che sia redazionale, ed anche che rifletta un ambiente giudeo-cristiano, ma non che tenda a negare la divinità di Gesù, Verbo incarnato. Il silenzio di un testo non è necessariamente negazione. Ancor meno plausibile è che il «Signor mio e Dio mio» di Tomaso (20,28) abbia solo valore funzionale, perché qui (a differenza di 20,17) è riferito direttamente a Gesù; tanto più che, a livello sincronico, sembra costituire una grande inclusione con Gv 1,1-2.

In conclusione, questa monografia del Boismard è certo stimolante perché solleva problemi adducendo argomenti e testi; ma le soluzioni sono spesso fragili, perché fragili sono le ipotesi su cui poggiano e talora sono in contraddizione con dati certi del QV. Sono d'accordo comunque sulla tesi fondamentale di Gesù, nuovo Mosè, ma superiore a lui ed anche sul progressivo influsso dell'ambiente giudeo-ellenistico, che ha provocato l'esplicitazione di quanto era implicito nella tradizione giovannea.

Via Seminario, 29  
I-35122 Padova

Giuseppe SEGALLA

David TROBISCH, *Die Entstehung der Paulusbriefsammlung. Studien zu den Anfängen christlicher Publizistik* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 10). Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag – Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989. 163 p. 15,5 × 23,5. SFr 42,00.

Accolto come tesi di Laurea all'Università di Heidelberg sotto la direzione del Prof. G. Theissen, questo studio presenta le caratteristiche tipiche di un apporto originale alla ricerca e insieme quelle di un lavoro per molti aspetti un po' acerbo. L'Autore si misura con un tema che nel nostro secolo è stato già variamente affrontato da diversi Studiosi (cf. Th. Zahn, E.J. Goodspeed, W. Schmithals, K. Aland), ma da questi egli prende le distanze in quanto, invece di seguire la solita strada che parte dal Paolo storico e segue il graduale formarsi della raccolta delle sue lettere, percorre il cammino inverso. Perciò comincia col prendere atto sia dell'estensione che della successione delle antiche raccolte delle lettere paoline, per interpretarle e così risalire dagli stadi più recenti a quelli più antichi. Esponiamo prima il metodo e i risultati del lavoro per esprimere poi alcune valutazioni critiche.

Possiamo sintetizzare il percorso del lavoro in cinque momenti. In primo luogo, l'A. parte dalle raccolte delle lettere paoline così come si possono rinvenire nella tradizione manoscritta. Egli ne individua nove, che appunto si distinguono l'una dall'altra sia per l'estensione che per la successione delle singole lettere. In secondo luogo, egli si rifà alla raccolta del corpus epistolare di San Cipriano (studiato da H. von Soden) come ad un modello decisivo. L'analisi dei vari manoscritti delle lettere cipriane gli permette di acquisire alcuni concetti fondamentali: quelli di «Teilsammlung» (una raccolta che serve come Vorlage ad edizioni più ampie combinate con altre raccolte), «Rest» (lettere appartenenti ad una Vorlage, di cui si copiano solo gli scritti ancora mancanti alla propria raccolta), «Anhang» (quando una Teilsammlung viene ampliata con alcune lettere poste però in aggiunta), «Sammlerinteresse», «Ordnungsprinzip», «Ursammlung». In terzo luogo, applicando questi criteri al corpus paolino, si conclude con l'enunciazione di una «Zweiquellentheorie»; solo due antiche raccolte delle lettere paoline sono necessarie per spiegare la formazione delle nuove serie sud-

dette, l'una testimoniata nella maggior parte dei manoscritti (e così ordinata: Rom Cor Gal Ef Fil Col Tess Tim Tit Fm; essa è strutturata secondo i destinatari, così da comprendere sette chiese e tre personaggi, tenendo conto che Ef-Tess è un «Anhang» come pure Tim-Fm, poiché sia Ef che 1 Tim sono più lunghe della lettera precedente), l'altra testimoniata da P<sup>46</sup> (e così ordinata: Rom Eb 1 Cor Ef; essa è caratterizzata da un indirizzo generale-cattolico). In quarto luogo, vengono esaminate alcune antiche raccolte epistolari (Cicerone, Ignazio, Platone, con accenni ad altri) per definire il genere letterario «Briefsammlung» caratterizzato da quattro stadi di sviluppo: recensioni risalenti allo stesso autore, lettere edite senza l'apporto dell'autore, «Teilsammlungen» ampliate, edizioni complete. Infine, Trobisch applica in senso inverso questi stadi al corpus paolino: dalle edizioni generali di 14 lettere e da quella più antica del P<sup>46</sup> si passa alle raccolte parziali più ampie (Rom Cor Gal; Ef Fil Col Tess; Tim Tit Fm) in cui giocano i criteri dei destinatari e in particolare quello della lunghezza e che possono aver avuto luogo o a Smirne sotto Policarpo o a Efeso sotto Onesimo; si passa poi alle edizioni prive dell'apporto dell'autore (= Rom Eb 1 Cor Ef) per concludere alle recensioni prodotte dallo stesso Paolo, di cui si dà come esempio 2 Cor redatta dall'Apostolo sulla base di quattro diverse lettere.

Come si vede, l'A. non manca di originalità. Ma questo fatto non basta per garantire la serietà di un lavoro. Alcuni interrogativi si impongono. Nell'individuazione delle nove raccolte Trobisch si serve solo dei manoscritti; ma due testimoni come Marcione (= Gal Cor Rom Tess Laod Col Fil Fm) e il canone Muratoriano (= Cor Ef Fil Col Gal Tess Rom + Fm Tim Tit), pur descritti fra i «Kataloge», hanno il pregio di un'indubbia antichità e avrebbero potuto sovvertire forse alcune ricostruzioni. L'affermazione della seconda «Sammlung» basata sull'indirizzo generale (che sarebbe servita come Vorlage di P<sup>46</sup>) non tiene sufficientemente conto del duplice fatto che 2 Cor viene forzatamente esclusa e che il P<sup>46</sup> non attesta alcuna variante in Rom 1,7 (su questo papiro, tra l'altro, l'A. non conosce il lavoro di Y. K. Kim, «Palaeographical Dating of P<sup>46</sup> to the Later First Century», *Bib* 69 [1988] 248-257), la quale è testimoniata piuttosto tardivamente (in G 1739, forse D). Inoltre, l'assunzione del corpus epistolare di San Cipriano come modello della formazione di una «Briefsammlung» potrebbe almeno teoricamente peccare di indebita parzialità; infatti Trobisch non ci dice se gli stessi procedimenti di raccolta siano rintracciabili anche nelle altre collezioni epistolari dell'antichità. Ma dove il lavoro si dimostra troppo ingenuo è nell'ultima parte, concernente il primo formarsi della «Paulusbriefsammlung». Qui funziona non solo la fantasia dell'A. (da egli stesso ammessa a p. 129), ma anche una frettolosa superficialità riscontrabile a più riprese: nella vecchia tesi di Efeso e del suo vescovo Onesimo (l'A. non conosce il lavoro di E. E. Lemcio, «Ephesus and the New Testament Canon», *BJRL* 69 [1986] 210-234), nell'assoluto silenzio sulla problematicità del fatto che At non conosce ancora le lettere di Paolo (anzi, è stupefacente l'affermazione di p. 130, secondo cui gli Anziani di Efeso tornano a casa da Mileto con nella borsa una copia di Rom e di 2 Cor!), e nel trattamento di 2 Cor (anche se ci dà a pensare l'affermazione, secondo cui nelle lettere antiche non

c'è alcuna testimonianza dell'inserimento di uno scritto in un altro, ma solo e raramente dell'aggiunta di una lettera ad un'altra).

In conclusione, lo studio è utile per la storia della collezione epistolare di Paolo nella tradizione manoscritta, ma non per la prima origine della collezione stessa. Detto in breve, esso interessa più lo storico della tradizione cristiana che non l'esegeta o lo storico della letteratura paolina nel sec. I e a cavallo col sec. II. Resta assai stimolante il confronto con le altre collezioni epistolari antiche: qui risiede, a mio avviso, l'apporto più efficace dello studio; ma esso, come si augura l'A. stesso (cf. 137), dovrebbe essere ulteriormente approfondito.

Pont. Università Lateranense  
Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano, 4  
I - 00120 Roma

Romano PENNA

Michael PRIOR, C. M., *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy* (JSNT Supplement Series 23). Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1989. 300 p. 14 × 22. £ 25.00/\$ 37.50.

Prior defends the traditional view that all three of the Pastoral Epistles are authentic. However, the bulk of the book is devoted more specifically to the demonstration that 2 Timothy was written by Paul. Moreover, he proceeds beyond the traditional conception of Paul in his use of 2 Timothy to reconstruct the latter part of Paul's missionary career.

In the first three chapters, Prior rehearses modern objections to the Pastorals' authenticity: their style and vocabulary differ from Paul's other letters; their implied historical situation assume Paul was released from his first Roman imprisonment; and the heretical opposition described in the Pastorals is characteristic of the second century. Besides all this, the theological content of the Pastorals differs from Paul's other letters: faith is no longer intimate trust in God's reliability but intellectual fidelity to a body of doctrine. Similarly, the spirit no longer motivates as a charismatic force but is encased in institutional structures.

Prior considers the usual defense of these features unsatisfactory. He builds his own case for the Pastorals' authenticity by arguing that scholars fail to take account of the contribution of Paul's co-authors when they talk about authenticity. Nor do they calculate the secretaries' role in the letters. Though the amount of co-authorship varies from a strong participatory role in the Thessalonian correspondence to a more passive role in 1 Corinthians, the so-called authentic letters are more collaborative as a group than the Pastorals are. Moreover, in contrast to the usual defense that Paul granted greater freedom to his secretary in the Pastorals, Prior argues on the analogy of Cicero and other ancient letter-writers, who wrote private letters to friends in their own hand, that the Pastorals were written by Paul himself without benefit of a secretary. In short, the Pastorals are the most authentic of all Paul's correspondence! They alone were composed entirely by Paul and written in his own hand.

Prior argues in chapter 4 that commentators tend to speak of the Pastorals as homogeneous and they thereby fail to treat them as actual pieces of correspondence. He himself describes the historical situation of each letter. Though he makes a case for the individuality of 1 Timothy and Titus, he nonetheless attributes various similarities of purpose and theology to them which are not typical of 2 Timothy. They offer communal instruction and are concerned with church organization, whereas 2 Timothy is private in instruction and is occasioned by personal issues. In particular, the primary themes of 2 Timothy are Paul's longing to see Timothy and his concern about Timothy's faith. In the latter case, Paul's emphasis on the necessity of continuing to be upright makes it clear that faith involves more than assent to a doctrinal deposit such as we find in 1 Timothy and Titus.

Regarding the historical light that 2 Timothy casts on Paul's ministry, Prior notes that it is Paul's only captivity letter that identifies its place of origin, "Rome" (1,17). By combining data in 2 Timothy with evidence in Acts 27-28, he constructs the following picture of Paul's circumstances. Since Acts reports consistently either that Paul was acquitted of charges against the state during his ministry (cf. 16,35; 18,15; 19,37) or would have been acquitted had he not appealed to Caesar (cf. 26,32), and since Paul's fate in Rome is not stated, Prior contends that the expectation is created that Paul would be vindicated in Rome. Thus, he conjectures that Acts' account of Paul's circumstances was written before execution. Assuming that Philippians and Philemon were also written from Rome, they too suggest Paul was confident of release and that he anticipated further missionary work. Moreover, 1 Clement, the Acts of Peter and the Muratorian Fragment witness to a tradition that Paul was released and undertook further missionary activity.

In Chapters 5-7 more details of Paul's Roman situation are provided. In chapter 5 Prior argues against the view that 2 Timothy is a literary testament which presents Paul about to be executed. Whether 2 Timothy is authentic or a pretense, only the customary reading of 2 Tim 4,6-8 creates the impression Paul was about to be executed. By contrast, Prior argues that since no other use of the verb *spendō* from the Greco-Roman period means "to pour out blood, neither does the verb refer in 2 Tim 4,6 to Paul's death" (RSV: "For I am already on the point of being sacrificed:..."). Rather, in the manner of Philo, the sacrificial language is an image of total dedication (offering) to God. Thus, Paul states metaphorically that he has exhausted himself in God's service. Similarly, Prior argues that the use of the noun *anahsis* in 2 Tim 4,6 should not be translated as "departure" (death) but should be rendered "release" (acquittal). This interpretation is more sensitive to the context in which 2 Tim 4,6-8 occurs than the conventional reading. Namely, the general theme of 4,1-8 is faithfulness to one's vocation: Timothy is exhorted to spend himself in the manner that Paul has. In turn, the translation of *anahsis* as "Release", with the meaning of acquittal, in 4,6 comports with the context which follows in 4,9-21. Paul's instructions for Timothy to come quickly, bringing Mark and some of Paul's possessions, all suggest he was preparing an apostolic missionary team.



In chapter 6, Prior argues that the conventional interpretation of 2 Tim 4,6-8 has also caused scholars to understand "all the nations" in 4,17 in a representative way. Namely, by defending his gospel before a Roman court Paul has fulfilled his mission to "all nations". On the other hand, if one interprets 2 Tim 4,6-8 as referring to Paul's release and if one understands 4,9-21 as evidence that Paul was preparing a team for further work, then the reference to "all the nations" is to be understood literally as Paul's intention to complete his apostolic mission to all the nations. Regarding the geographical sphere of missionary work, Prior argues that Acts' failure to mention any beneficial activity of Roman Christians suggests that Paul was "given the cold shoulder". He alleges that the captivity letters also imply that Paul was not well treated in Rome. For example, the reason Paul wanted Philemon to send Onesimus back to him was that he was lacking outside help. Though Paul states in Colossians that the gospel was bearing fruit in the whole world (1,5f.) he nowhere indicates Romans were helping nor does he send greetings from the congregation. Similarly, in explaining the conditions of his imprisonment to the Philippians, Paul indicates that there were divisions in the Roman church and that members looked to their own interests and not to those of Christ (2,21). According to Prior, this lack of support caused Paul to decide to return to the east rather than to proceed to Spain as he had earlier announced in Romans 15.

In chapter 7, Prior rounds off his interpretation by explaining that actual needs provide a more compelling explanation of Paul's request for Timothy's and Mark's quick arrival and for his desire for a cloak and parchments than the parenetical purposes attributed to the author of 2 Timothy by proponents of pseudepigraphy.

There are positive things that may be stated about Prior's book. It is clearly written and with sufficient repetition of the main points that the general thesis is easy to grasp. Moreover, Prior constructs from a diverse body of literary materials, and particularly from 2 Timothy and Acts 27-28, a coherent and relatively full picture of the later stages of Paul's missionary career.

On the other hand, the work is flawed by several questionable and inconsistent procedures. For example, whereas the acceptable procedure is to use data in the seven letters most considered authentic as the primary resource of Paul's ministry and thought, and to use the remaining six letters and the record in Acts in a secondary way in submission to the seven letters, Prior says it is preferable to accept the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals unless the arguments are of such strength as to render the traditional position untenable. The weight he attributes to "secondary" resources is evident in the priority given to 2 Timothy and Acts 27-28 in his reconstruction of the Roman imprisonment. His posture is also reflected in the fact that he draws freely upon 2 Thessalonians, Colossians and Ephesians without justifying their authenticity.

Prior admits that not all of Paul's imprisonment letters may have been written in Rome but he nonetheless proceeds to theorize about their support of his interpretation of Paul's circumstances. His use of these letters

is not so problematic as the implications he sometimes derives from their use. For example, though it is conceivable that the communal divisions in Philippians may refer to the Roman church and that Paul's need of Onesimus from Philemon is necessitated by Rome's lack of support, it seems excessive for Prior to infer that greetings from the Roman church are omitted at the end of Colossians precisely because of its lack of fellowship with Paul. In the same vein, it is questionable to assume that the silence in Acts 27–28 about the activity of Roman Christians indicates specifically that the church gave Paul the "cold shoulder". These conjectures suggest literary evidence is being forced to serve Prior's assumptions.

Prior's book is also subject to certain internal inconsistencies. Though he implies the Pastorals are the most authentic of all Paul's letters, because they alone were composed and written by Paul himself, he nonetheless builds a case for 2 Timothy's authenticity by illustrating literary and theological features that it shares with Pauline letters other than the Pastorals and in pointing out differences between it and the two remaining Pastorals.

Moreover, a book with "Paul the Letter-Writer" in its title should talk more about formal and stylistic features of Paul's letters. Though Prior talks about the necessity of attending to the collaborative nature of Paul's correspondence, he does not sketch formal epistolary lineaments of either the Pastorals or of Paul's other letters. And, though he notes that 2 Timothy's use of an introductory thanksgiving prayer differentiates it from the other Pastorals and makes it similar to most of Paul's letters, he does not describe the epistolary function of the thanksgiving sufficiently. To be sure, he notes that themes in the thanksgiving announce the letter's occasion, but he does not explain how Paul uses the convention as a religious modification of the secular health wish. No other formal features of the opening-closing or of the letter body are seriously examined with an eye to 2 Timothy.

In summary, Prior's book is written in a clear and interesting manner, but it is a superstructure with shaky underpinnings at the key foundational points.

Loyola University of Chicago  
6525 North Sheridan Road  
Chicago, IL 60626 USA

John L. WHITE

### Varia

Albert-Marie DENIS, O. P., *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament*. Concordance, Corpus des textes, Indices. Louvain-la-Neuve, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988. XXI-925 p. 32,5 × 23. FB 7.500.

This ample concordance of the Greek pseudepigraphical material of the Old Testament provides an important tool for anyone studying these writings. Fourteen complete, or almost complete, works are examined: *Vita Adae et Evae*, *Apocalypsis Henochi graeca*, *Testamentum Abrahae* (both the long and the short recensions), *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, *Liber Iosephi et Asenethae*, *Psalmi Salomonis*, *Paraleipomena Jeremiae*, *Apocalypsis Baruchi graeca*, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae*, *Apocalypsis Esdrae graeca*, *Apocalypsis Sedrach*, *Testamentum Jobi*, *Epistula Aristaeae* and *Sibyllina Oracula*. In addition, eighteen fragmentary works of various historians, Greek playwrights and literati, and Jewish philosophers are included.

The publication of this volume brings to fruition a project begun in Louvain in 1960, after the appearance of the *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen 1960). The material contained in it is of great help in understanding the Jewish world out of which the New Testament came. As the Preface informs us, the concordance is of practically the same length (134,000 words) as a concordance of the New Testament itself (137,000 words).

After a brief introduction and explanation of abbreviations and symbols (IX-XXI) the concordance is divided into three parts. The first of these, *Liste générale du vocabulaire* (1-86), provides an alphabetical list of each word catalogued in the concordance, with a notation indicating the total number of times the word appears in the literature studied as well as the number of times it appears in each of the texts. Thus, one is able to see at a glance the frequency and distribution of each word throughout the body of the Greek OT pseudepigraphical literature.

The second, and largest, section (87-811) is the concordance itself. Each word is listed along with the number of times it occurs. After that the various "lemmes" are given in such a way that each word appears within its immediate context.

The third section, *Corpus des textes* (813-925), provides the texts for all the works which have been examined. No attempt has been made to note variant readings for any of the texts. As the Introduction explains, even though variants are sometimes numerous and significant, only the edited text has been taken into consideration. While one can readily understand such a decision, especially in the light of the amount of extra work and volume which would have been necessary to provide such information, the omission of variants causes a handicap to an otherwise extremely useful tool. For many scholars it is precisely the variant readings which are the most interesting and which sometimes provide indispensable information concerning the history of the transmission of a text. The lack of the variants

found in the MSS containing the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint in the monumental concordance of Hatch-Redpath is an example of this same difficulty.

In addition to the printed text of the concordance, a set of microfiches is provided, containing additional, and exhaustive, information on the occurrences of words, according to four categories. In the first, "*Index des formes et des lemmes*", we have a list of the number of times each form of each word occurs. The second gives a reverse index of the words, listing the words according to the alphabetical order of the final letter. The third gives the words in order of decreasing frequency, first for the whole corpus and then for each of the texts. Finally, the fourth index is a "*concordance des mots-outils*", giving a full listing of those words, such as articles and particles, not included in the printed text of the concordance, where there is only a basic reference, i.e., the total number of occurrences and, if applicable, the various forms in which it occurs. Thus, for example, we find that for the entire corpus of the OT Greek pseudepigrapha *autos* occurs 4,538 times; *kai* occurs 10,699 times.

Recent years have seen the publication of new editions of many of these pseudepigraphical texts of the Old Testament, and now scholars have at their disposal an exhaustive and practical concordance to facilitate their study of them.

Pontifical Biblical Institute  
Via della Pilotta, 25  
I-00187 Rome

Stephen PISANO, SJ

Anton SCHALL, *Elementa Arabica: Einführung in die klassische arabische Sprache*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1988. VIII-209 p. 24 × 17.

This book could be useful for biblical scholars and Hebraists who wish to have some knowledge of the basic morphology of Classical Arabic, perhaps for comparative purposes. By presenting Classical Arabic entirely in transliteration, the author wishes to spare beginners the task of learning Arabic script and orthography. However, the present reviewer is not altogether sure if one can really acquire a sound working knowledge of Arabic without any familiarity with its writing system.

Part 1 of the book, pp. 1-138, presents the basic grammar accompanied by exercises and vocabulary. There are also some interesting notes on cultural and religious matters, e.g., the brief exegetical comment on Sūra 4,136 on p.82 and the useful remarks on the exercises in lesson 15. The word-list on pp.121-138 contains the 560 words used in the exercises. The entries are arranged according to the Latin alphabet: 'asfaru - 'asmaru - 'aşrun - 'aswadu - 'a'tā - 'a'tāma. Part 2, pp.141-145, gives some very rudimentary notes on orthography. These notes are unfortunately not very clear, especially for beginners. The interested reader should perhaps consult

the concise yet informative notes on orthography in W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie* (Wiesbaden 1982) 184-186; these notes were written by W. Fischer himself, to whose *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Wiesbaden 1987) Prof. Schall constantly refers for further discussions. The handwriting on pp. 143 and 150f, lacks elegance. Part 3 contains an elementary reader (147-200), taken from R.-E. Brünnow and A. Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie aus Prosaschriftstellern* (6. rev. Aufl. Wiesbaden 1984). Schall's interlinear translation and notes make the twenty-one pages of Brünnow-Fischer's book more accessible to those who otherwise might have to struggle through this excellent yet demanding primer.

Lessons 1-7 cover the nouns and pronouns. Lessons 8-11 introduce the verbal system and round off the discussion on nouns and pronouns. Moods, tenses, voice, and the derived strong verbs are treated in lessons 12-15. Lessons 16-24 deal with the weak verbs. The accompanying exercises are carefully composed to illustrate the rules explained in the lessons. In some lessons the exercises indirectly give more precision to the rules; see, e.g., the statement on p. 34 that the 1sg. pronominal suffix *-ya* should be used with nouns ending in *-ā -ī, -ay*, and before words beginning with a definite article. This last condition is not always true, as is clear from sentence no. 11 on p. 36: *Li-ṣāhibī* (instead of *Li-ṣāhibīya*) *l-faqīrī ḥimārāni*.... 'My poor friend has two donkeys...'. On p. 33 the author should have noted that [a] in the second syllable of the pronoun *'anā* 'I' is short despite the writing. On p. 20, the shortening of *ī* and *ā* of the prepositions *fī* and *'alā* preceding the definite article should have been noted. Such observations would be more useful for the beginner than, say, the detailed note on the vestige of the Mecca dialect in the pronunciation of the short [u] in the word *hā'ulā'i* 'these' (p. 46, bottom). Again, it is not clear why the author gives the rare pl. *yudīyun*, of *yadun* 'hand', p. 53, and simply ignores the more frequent *'aidin* or *'ayādin*.

The three uses of the perfect *qatala* (the author's preference to *fa'ala*) mentioned on p. 42, i.e., to designate completed action, a factual statement, or a wish, need to be illustrated by examples. The outline of the use of the imperfect on p. 45 is more satisfactory. It is a pity that the agreement between subject and verb is not dealt with. The finer points of verbal syntax are only presented in the reader without further discussion. Thus the typical construction *kāna yaqtulu* appears on p. 153 no. 9; *kāna qad qatala* on p. 177 nos. 9-10; 12 and the special use of the verb *laysa* on p. 152, no. 8. One's overall impression is that the treatment of elementary verbal syntax is rather uneven.

With the help of a tutor, well-motivated beginners may acquire more than just a basic knowledge of Classical Arabic from this book. The overview of Arabic lexicography given on pp. 201-205 is very useful. There is also an annotated basic bibliography on pp. 207-209. This book is a laudable effort to make Classical Arabic generally more accessible despite some unevenness in the presentation.

# NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

## **International Conference on Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East**

On the occasion of a hundred years of the academic teaching of Ancient Near Eastern languages at the University of Louvain, the "Ancient Near East" section of the Department of Oriental Studies of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven is organizing an international conference on "Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East". The conference is to be held in Leuven (Louvain) from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991.

The purpose of this meeting will be to compare the situation existing in the three main areas of the Ancient Near East: Egypt, Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia. The papers will be presented in English, French or German. Those interested in this conference may receive further information on the program and accommodations by writing to:

Prof. J. Quaegebeur  
Dept. of Oriental Studies  
Blijde Inkomststraat 21  
B-3000 Leuven Belgium

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**Block, Daniel Isaac**, *The Gods of the Nations*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology (Evangelical Theological Society Monograph 2). Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 1988. xiv-214 p. 13,5 × 21. \$13.95.

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